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J. Falkner

THE  
DIVINE LEGATION  
OF  
M O S E S  
DEMONSTRATED  
ON THE  
Principles of a *Religious Deist*,



From the Omission of the Doctrine of a  
FUTURE STATE  
OF  
REWARD and PUNISHMENT  
IN THE  
*JEWISH* DISPENSATION.

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The Second Volume, in Two Parts.

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BY  
*WILLIAM WARBURTON, A.M.*  
Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

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ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ  
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ. *Psal.*

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# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Author of *the Divine Legation of Moſes* had no ſooner given his firſt Volume to the Public, than he was fallen upon in ſo outrageous and brutal a Manner as had been ſcarce pardonable had it been *the Divine Legation of Mahomet*. Infidel, Blaſphemer, Apoſtate without Faith or Law, were amongſt the ſoft and civil Sayings by which he was uſhered into the Acquaintance of the Public. But what an Inſtrument of Vengeance had *Bigotry* conjured up! If he was to be run down and worried, it had been ſome kind of Conſolation to him to fall by an Animal that knew how to bite :

*Optat aprum, aut fulvum deſcendere monte Leonem.*

However, to do his Adverſaries Juſtice, it muſt be owned, that what they wanted in *Teeth*, they had in *Venom* ; and they knew, as all Creatures do, where their Strength lay. For Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, he was, whether he would or no, to be pushed over to the Enemy. But an Accuſation without Proof or Appearance, they ſaw might be defeated by a mere Denial. He was therefore to be ſhewn void

A 2 of

of all good Faith. A Reflection on *Tully's personated Character* furnished them with this Pretence; and the Consequence they drew from it, that he *was not to be believed in any thing*, shewed to what Purpose they intended to employ it.

The Attack was opened by a pretended *Country Clergyman*, but in Reality a Writer of a Weekly News Paper; and with such Excess of Insolence and Malice, as the Public had never yet seen on any Occasion whatsoever. For all this, our Author's Regard to the Interests of *Christianity*, to the Honour of his own Order, nay, even to the Recovery of this unhappy Man, disposed him to do himself Justice<sup>a</sup> in a Spirit of Charity and Forbearance as uncommon almost as the Provocation. But all he got by it was only experiencing the Truth of a good old *Arabian Proverb*, which says, *If a Man tell you a Mountain has changed its Place, believe him; but if he tell you a Zealot has changed his Manners, mark him down for a Lyar*. For so far was this gentle Treatment from bringing this furious Creature to himself, that it made him ten times more outrageous.

Amidst all this unprovoked Calumny, to support which Passages have been distorted, Propositions forged, Conversation betrayed, and fictitious Letters written<sup>b</sup>, our Author had yet

<sup>a</sup> See a Pamphlet intit. *A Vindication of the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses*, &c.

<sup>b</sup> See *The General Evening Posts*, May 24, and June 2, 1739, or *The History of the Works of the Learned for August 1739*. †

his Reasons for sparing these wretched Instruments of Ignorance and Envy. His Friends thought it below him to commit himself with such Writers; and he himself supposed it no good Policy to irritate a Zealot, who had, at his first Opening in cold Blood, called out aloud upon the Secular Arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the *Free-thinkers*; for alas, poor Men! he knew their Weapons: All their Arms were Arguments, and those none of the sharpest; and Wit, and that none of the brightest. But he had here to do with one in Authority; appointed, if you will believe him, a Kind of Inspector-General over Clerical Faith. And he goes forth in all the Pomp and Terror of an *Inquisitor*; with *Suspicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and his two Affessors, *Ignorance* and *Insolence* on each Side. — *I must suspect his Faith* (says he) — *I must condemn his Book* — *I do not understand his Argument*.

These were our Author's Sentiments and Dispositions, when many Weeks had not passed before this very Man, who had abused him for Want of Complaisance to *the old Pagan Priesthood*; grown furious and desperate by the public Contempt, fell upon the whole Body of the

The Author of the *Div. Leg.* received a Letter signed *W. Romaine*, which Letter the said *W. Romaine* has since publicly owned under his Hand to have been written on set Purpose to deceive. But there is another Man, it seems, one *Bate*, who contends for the Honour of that Exploit, and says, *Romaine* was only his Secretary, how forward soever he was to subscribe his own Name. I hope no body will claim his Sermon too, and so give him the Chance again of a clear Reputation in Spite of his Teeth.

*English Clergy*, whom, in a circular Letter to the Bishops, he represented as so horribly corrupt, that *a great many of them were grown settled Infidels*. And to get Credit to his Slander, he had the Insolence to father it on a Bishop<sup>c</sup>. A Bishop, I suppose, *in partibus Infidelium*.

Since then this angry Tumor, in the Butt-End of Authority, is gathered to a Head, it is but Charity to lance it, and ease the labouring Body of its Purulency. For what a Contempt of private Injuries hath kept our Author from doing for *himself*, a Regard for a Body of Men, the most learned, virtuous, and truly Christian that ever adorned a Church or State, would excite any honest Man to do for the *Public*.

But it may perhaps be of use (to Posterity at least, if ever these slight Sheets should happen to come down to it) to explain the Provocation our Author gave for so much unlimited Abuse and Calumny. The Reader then may be pleased to know, that our Author's first Vol. of *the Divine Legation of Moses* was as well a *Sequel* and *Support* of the *Alliance between Church and State* (a Book written in Behalf of our Constitution and Established Clergy) as it was an *Introduction* to a projected Defence of

\* — “Corrupt as the *Generality* of the People are, the Clergy may do a great deal towards their Reformation, — and, my Lord, *corrupt as the Clergy are* (and one of your Lordship's Bench who knows the World, told me, he believed “a great many of them were grown settled Infidels) the Bishops “by — must have a great Sway over them.” See *The Whitehall Evening Post*, June 22, — 24, 1738.

Rever-

*Revelation*. It might likewise be regarded, as an intire Work of itself, to shew the *Usefulness of Religion to Society*. This, and the large Bulk of the whole, disposed him to publish the first Volume apart; while the present State of Religion amongst us seemed to give it a peculiar Expediency, “an open and professed Disregard to Religion (as an excellent Pastor of our Church observes) being become the distinguishing Character of the present Age. An Evil grown to a great Height in the Metropolis of the Nation, and daily spreading thro’ every Part of it; which hath already brought in such Dissoluteness and Contempt of Principle in the higher Part of the World, and such profligate Intemperance and Fearlessness of committing Crimes in the lower, as must, if this Torrent of Impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal.” Our Author therefore thought, that as this *Evil*, which is now spread through the Populace, began in *the higher Part of the World*, it must be first checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better Way to do this, than by shewing those People of Condition, who, amidst all their *Contempt of religious Principle*, yet professed the greatest Zeal for their Country and Mankind, that *Religion is absolutely necessary for the Support of Civil Government*. He thought too, this no ill Device to get the Advocate of *Revelation* a fair Hearing. For he supposed, that unless they

<sup>d</sup> Bishop. of Oxford's Charge, Lond. 1738, 4<sup>to</sup> p. 4.

could be made to see the *Usefulness* of Christianity to Society (which their *Contempt of Principle* shewed they yet did not see) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth*, or *Divinity*.

These were his Endeavours and Designs. What he got for his Pains I have already told the Reader.— *Egregium pretium laboris!*

In vain had he endeavoured to deserve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular;—by fixing the true Grounds of *Morality*;—by confuting the *Atheistic Arguments* of *Bayle*, and the flagitious Principle of *Mandeville*;—by explaining the Natures, settling the Bounds, and adjusting the distinct Rights of *the two Societies*;—and by exposing the impious Tenet of Religion's being the Contrivance of Statesmen.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old Posture of Defence*<sup>e</sup>, and had projected a new Plan for the Support of *Revelation*. For though these Men will talk, indeed, of the Love of Truth, and the invincible Evidence of our Cause, yet I know not how, even amidst all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the most woful Apprehensions of Christianity; and are frightened to Death at every foolish Book new writ against Religion, though it come but from the *Mint* or *Bedlam*. And

<sup>e</sup> *His Demonstration*, IF HE COULD MAKE ONE OF IT, could never make us Amends for changing our Posture of Defence, and deserting our Strong-holds. Country Clergyman's second Letter, *Weekly Misc.* Apr. 28, 1738. Col. 5.

what



what do they direct you to in this desperate Exigence? Do they bid you fall out upon the Enemy, level his Trenches, destroy his Works, and turn his own Artillery upon him? By no Means! Keep within your *strong Hold*. Watch where he directs his Battery, and there clap a Buttreſs. And, ſo it be done with *Speed*, no Matter of what Materials. If, in the mean Time, one more bold than the reſt, offer to dig away the Rubbiſh that hides its Beauty; or kick down an awkward Prop that diſcredits its Strength, he is ſure to be called, perhaps to be thought, *a ſecret Enemy, or an indiſcreet Friend*. He is ſure to be aſſaulted with all the rude Clamours and opprobrious Names that a Bigot is ever ready to beſtow on thoſe he fears and hates.

Commend me, therefore, to thoſe honeſter Zealots, the *Methodiſts*, who ſpend all their Fire againſt *Vice*. It will be ſaid, perhaps, they are mad. I believe they are. But what of that? they are honeſt. Zeal for the Fancies and Opinions of our Superiors is the known Road to Preferment; but, who was ever yet ſo mad to think of riſing by *Virtue*?

But what Reason, I pray, has our Author to complain? *This* was the Fate of all his Betters. It was the Fate of *Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Taylor*. They were called *Politiques, Sceptics, Erastiſians, Atheiſts, Deiſts*, and what not? But *Cudworth's* Caſe was ſo particular as will excuſe a little Enlargement.

The *Philosopher of Malmsbury* was the Terror of the laſt Age, as *Tindal* and *Collins* are of this,

this. The Press sweat with Controversy : and every young Church-man militant would try his Arms in thundering upon *Hobbes's* Steel Cap. The Mischiefs his Writings had done to Religion, set the great *Cudworth* upon projecting its Defence. Of this he published one immortal Volume ; with a Boldness uncommon, indeed, but very becoming a Man conscious of his own Integrity, and of the Truth and Evidence of his Cause. For instead of amusing himself with *Hobbs's* peculiar Whimsies, which in a little Time were to vanish of themselves, and their Answers with them, which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbishop's<sup>f</sup>; he launched out into the Immensity of the *intellectual System* : and, at his first Essay, penetrated the very darkest Recesses of Antiquity, to strip *Atheism* of all its Disguises, and drag up the lurking Monster to Conviction. Where though few Readers could follow him, yet the very slowest were able to unravel his secret Purpose. And there wanted not *Country Clergymen* to lead the Cry, and tell the World — *That, under Pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very Manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be supposed to use in writing against it* ; that he had given us all the filthy Stuff that he could scrape together out of the Sink of *Atheism*, as a natural Introduction to a Demonstration of the Truth of Revelation<sup>g</sup> : that with incredible Industry and

<sup>f</sup> *Tennison*.

<sup>g</sup> See the Country Clergyman's first Letter. — One Mr. *John Turner*, a Clergyman, wrote against the *Intel. System*, and, to  
Reading

*Reading* he had rummaged all Antiquity for Atheistical Arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended, to answer. In a Word, that he was an *Atheist* in his Heart, and an *Arian* in his Book. For I can't tell how it is, but those who *know not what Spirit they are of*, are always the forwardest to conjecture of their Adversaries: As they who have no Principles of their own, are the quickest to see the Consequences of other Mens. A great modern Philosopher supposes it a mere Disease of the Mind, which he describes under the Name of a *perverse Association of Ideas*. And indeed when this is the Case, there is no seeing to the End of their *Consequences*. Thus, some Advocates of Popery, having joined together the Ideas of a God in Heaven, and a *Vice-God* on Earth, are used very familiarly to accuse the Denial of the Infallibility of the Papal Chair with a direct Tendency to Atheism. — However, thus ran the popular Clamour

shew the Similarity of Style between these two congenial Souls, I shall quote some of the Reverend Mr. Turner's Flowers of Speech. Speaking of *Cudworth* in his Dedication to a Book called *A Discourse of the Messiah*, p. 17. he says, — *We must conclude him to be himself a Tritheistic, a Sect, for which I believe he may have a Kindness, because he loves hard Words; or something else without Stick or Trick, which I will not name, because his Book pretends to be written against it.* And again, p. 19. — *The most that Charity itself can allow the Doctor, if it were to step forth and speak his most favourable Character to the World, is, that he is an Arian, a Socinian, or a Deist.* — Nay their Bigotry and Malice pursued this great Man even to his Death-bed; and somebody told somebody, that another unknown Divine, visiting him as he lay a dying, heard him profess *not to believe any thing at all of Deism*; which these candid Interpreters understood not of his Belief of *Revelation*, but of *Atheism*.

against

against this excellent Person. Would the Reader know the Consequence? Why, the Zealots inflamed the Bigots:

*'Twas the Time's Plague, when Mad-men led  
the Blind.*

The silly Calumny was believed; the much injured Author grew disgusted; his Ardour slackened; and the rest, and far greatest Part of the Defence, never appeared. A Defence, that would have left nothing for such as our Author to do, but to read it; and for such as his Adversaries, but to rail at it.

Thus a spiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all Distinctions. And thus our Author comes to be honoured with the same Treatment it has given to a *Cudworth*. But as this *Hate* is, for the most Part, only *Envy*, under the Name of Zeal, the Bigots, for their own *Ease*, should be more cautious in distributing their Favours. They have given our Author Cause enough to be vain: who, as inconsiderable as he is, has, it seems, his *Webster*; as well as *Locke* his *Edwards*, or *Chillingworth* his *Cheynel*. But alas! the Public, I am afraid, will distinguish better. They see, though these Men cannot, that the *Edwards* and *Cheynels* increase upon us, while the *Lockes* and *Chillingworths* are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have Time, turn your Envy on their few remaining Successors: and leave our Author, who has Parts to be of your Party, in Peace. You can want no kind of Provocation to it, for  
you

you have done him the Honour to mark those *Few* in the Number of his Friends. And the Public, while they live to support Religion, may, perhaps, bear with your Railings to attend their Triumphs. But no Time is to be lost. We have a dismal Prospect before us. The *Chillingworths* of the present Age will, in a little Time, be no more; while the Race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the Fate of all human Things. The *Geese* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for Ages, after those true Defenders of it, the *Manlii*, the *Camilli*, the *Africani*, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the Fears of Friendship! I had but just wrote this, when the Death of Dr. *Francis Hare*, late Bishop of *Chichester*, gave me Cause to curse my Divination. In him the *Public* has lost one of the best Patrons and Supports of Letters and Religion. How steddily and successfully he employed his great Talents of Reason and Literature in opposing the Violence of each religious Party, in their Turns, when Court Favour was betraying them into hurtful Extremes, the unjust Reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never suffer us to forget. How generously he encouraged and rewarded *Letters*, let them tell who have so largely shared in his Beneficence: For his Character may be trusted with his Enemies, or even with his most obliged Friends. In him *our Author* has lost, what he could but ill spare, one of the most candid of his Readers and ablest of his Judges. What he can never lose, is the  
*Honour*

*Honour* of his Esteem and Friendship. This the Bishop gave him. It was all he sought : And, by the free Terms on which they were, his Lordship seemed to do him the Justice to believe it was all he expected.

But whatever Advantage our Author may have received from the Outrage of his Enemies, the Public is a real Sufferer. He hath indeed the Honour to be known to those *Few*, who could have corrected his Errors, reformed his Course, and shewn him safely through the wide and trackless Depths of ancient Times. But the Calumnies of his Enemies obliged him to a kind of Quarantine; as coming lately from suspected Places, from the Cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the Schools of *Heathen Philosophers*; whose Infection was supposed to be yet sticking on him. And under such Circumstances it is held ill Breeding to come near our Superiors.

This Disadvantage was the more sensible to him, as few Writers have been under great Obligations to consult the Satisfaction of the Public; which gave his *first* Volume, unpatroned and unfriended as it was, so very kind a Reception; and waited with a favourable Expectation for the *following*. And if he has made his Readers wait too long, he has only this to say, that he would not follow the Example of Paradoxical Writers, who generally aim to strike by a Novelty. For as his Aim was only Truth, he was content his Notions should become stale and common, and forego all Advantages



vantages but their native Evidence, before he submitted them to the public Judgment.

But the candid Regard his Book met with in THE TWO UNIVERSITIES is his supreme Honour. A Writer neglected or condemned by them, does but vainly struggle to save himself from Oblivion; while one they approve is sure to rise superior over Envy. *Here* SCIENCE and TRUE RELIGION first started from their long Slumber of six barbarous Ages, and in a *Bacon* and a *Wickliffe* gave the earliest Check to overbearing Ignorance and Superstition. What these two PRIESTS began, a second *Bacon* and a *Newton*, a *Mede* and a *Chillingworth*, all fostered in the Bosoms of these two Sister Universities, pursued and perfected. These are their ancient Honours. And animated with their former Successes over *Ignorance* and *Superstition*, we now see them turn their Arms, with unimpaired Vigour, against VICE and PROPHANENESS. We see them oppose themselves to a Torrent of Impiety; and we justly regard them as the last Supports of a corrupt declining Age.

The only Symptom not mortal in our Sickneſs is, that we have not yet abused our Physician. Amidst that unbridled Licence which now insults every Thing in *Government* and *Religion*, it is some Consolation to every good Man to see the *two Universities* secure from Outrage. Tho' the *Merit* of this Continenſe may be indeed diſputed. For when, in the Decline of the *Athenian* Glory, want of public Spirit in the Rulers

lers had raised a licentious one in those who should obey, which spared neither the Orders of Religion, the Tribunals of Justice, the Assemblies of the People, nor the Temples of the Gods themselves; the most ungoverned Tongue never dared to violate the sacred Reverence of the AREOPAGUS, the great Protector and Guardian of all those religious and civil Ordinances. But then, every one understood this to be a Mark of the unblemished Integrity of that illustrious Body amidst a very general Corruption.



T O

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TO THE  
J E W S.

S I R S,

**T**HE Design of this Work being to prove the *Divine Legation* of MOSES, it will, I hope, have so much Merit with you, as to engage your serious Attention to the following Address; which, from the Divinity of *Moses's* Law, as in this Work demonstrated, attempts to shew you how it follows, by necessary Consequence, that the Religion of JESUS is also divine.

But, while I am laying my CONCLUSIONS before you, let me beseech you not to suffer yourselves to be prejudiced against their Evidence by such kind of Fallacies as these: *Both Jews and Christians confess that the Religion of Moses came from GOD: but one only, of these two Sects, believe the Divinity of that of JESUS: the safest, therefore, is to adhere to what both Sides own to be true.* An Argument, that, however like, hath not, in all its Parts, even so much Force as what the *Papists* are accustomed to urge against the Reformed — *That as both Parties hold Salvation may be had in the Church of Rome, and only*

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one Party in the Churches of the Reformed, it is safest to adhere to Popery: Which I dare say you laugh at for its Impertinence, how much soever you may have been deluded by the same Way of Reasoning<sup>a</sup>. For if the *Roman Catholics*, or *You*, will not take our Word for *Christianity* or *Reformation*, why do you build any Thing on it in Favour of *Popery* or *Judaism*? Both of you will say, perhaps (the only plausible Thing that can be said) because we are prejudiced in the former Conclusion, but that the mere Force of Evidence extorts the latter from us, even against ourselves. This is easily said, and may, perhaps, be easily believed by those, who, having taken their Religion from their Ancestors, are apt to measure Truth only by its Antiquity. But genuine Christianity offering itself only to the private Judgments of its Followers, every Man believes as he finds Cause. So that if either of you would give yourselves the Trouble to examine our Motives, you would see that the *very same Reasons* which force us to conclude that *Christianity* in general, and the *Reformed Religion* in particular, are true, force us at the same Time to conclude, that the *Jewish* was from God; and that Salvation may be obtained, though with Difficulty, in the *Church of Rome*. Either, therefore, the *whole* of our Conclusion is Prejudice, or *no Part* of it.

<sup>a</sup> This, the miserable *Uriel Acofta* tells us was one of the principal Arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaism*. — *Præterea Veteri Fœderi fidem dabant tam Judæi quam Christiani; Novo autem Fœderi soli Christiani. Exemplar humanæ vitæ*, p. 346. in fin. *Amica Collat. Phil. a Limborch.*

As

As I would not have you harden your native Obstinacy in *your own* Religion, by bad Arguments; so neither will I use any such to draw you over to *ours*.

I shall not therefore attempt that Way of bringing you to the Truth, which some amongst us, little acquainted, as should seem, either with your Dispensation, or their own, imagine they have discovered. Who, taking it for granted that the Truth of the *Mosaic* Religion can be proved only from the *Christian*, maintain, that you must first come over to us before you can have any reasonable Assurance of the Divinity of that you have left. But I would not urge you with such kind of Reasoning, if it were only for this, that I suspect you may not be such utter Strangers to the *New Testament*, as not to know that it makes *Judaism* the great Foundation of *Christianity*. Besides, right Reason, as well as *St. Paul* (which with us, at present, are the same Thing) would teach you to reply to such Convertists, *Boast not against the Branches of the natural Olive-tree. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the Root, but the Root, thee*<sup>b</sup>.

Much less would I employ, in this Attempt, the newer Project of our common Adversary, the *Free-thinker*. For you are to know, that as the Men I mentioned before make *Christianity* too recent, so these others make it as much too old: even *as old as the Creation*. The one

<sup>b</sup> ROM. xi. 18.

Party will not suffer it to reach the Support of *Judaism*: the other forces it to leave behind all Support whatsoever; assuring us, that the ready Way to make you believe in JESUS is to prove *Moses* an Impostor. So, I am told<sup>c</sup>, says a late Writer: who, by the peculiar Felicity of a good Choice, having learnt his *Morality* of our *Tyndal*, and his *Philosophy* of your *Spinoza*, calls himself, by the Courtesy of *England*, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER.

The Road I have taken is indeed very different. And the Principles I go upon, to convert you, will serve, equally, to confute *them*. For I have shewn the Law of *Moses* was actually from GOD; and, at the same Time, only preparatory to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

The Limits of this Address will not allow me to lay before you other Arguments than what arise immediately from those momentous Circumstances of the Law, discoursed of in this Work. Much less shall I have Room to urge you with a Repetition of any of those Reasonings which *Christian* Writers have already used with so superior a Force against you.

Let us see then what it is that keeps you yet inchained to a slavish Discipline, so long after the free Offers of Redemption. The two principal Reasons, I suppose, are these:

I. *First*, a *Presumption* that the Religion of *Moses* is perfect; and so full and complete, in all its Members, as to be abundantly capable of

<sup>c</sup> I will tell you my Author; 'tis the Rev. Mr. *Chapman* in his excellent Confutation of this Writer, *Vol. i.*

supplying



supplying the spiritual Wants of all Mankind ; by preparing and fitting human Nature for the Enjoyment of the supreme Good ; and by proposing, and procuring the Possession of that Good. Hence you conclude, and rightly, that the Law was given as a perpetual Ordinance to be observed throughout all your Generations for ever.

II. The *second* is a *Persuasion* that the Prophecies (a necessary Credential of the Messiah) which, we say, relate to JESUS, relate to him only in a secondary Sense ; which you suppose a visionary fanatic Manner of Interpretation, invented by ignorant *Christians* to uphold a groundless Claim.

For thus one of our common Enemies, who hath inforced your Arguments against us, tells the World you are accustomed to speak. *All the Books written by Jews against the Christian Religion* (says he) *some of which are printed, and others go about Europe in Manuscript, chiefly attack the New Testament for the allegorical Interpretations of the Old Testament therein, and with the greatest Insolence and Contempt imaginable on that Account ; and oppose to them a single and literal Interpretation as the true Sense of the Old Testament. And accordingly the allegorical Interpretations given by Christian Expositors of the Prophecies are now the grand Obstacle and Stumbling-block in the Way of the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity*<sup>d</sup>. These are the two grand

<sup>d</sup> *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 82, 83.

Obstacles of your Conversion. I shall now shew how the Book here addressed to you removes them, and clears up all your Difficulties.

I. As to the *Perfection* of your Religion, I have here shewn, that, though indeed it had that Perfection, which no Religion coming from God can want, that is, a full Capacity of attaining its End, which was the Separation of the Race of *Abraham* from an idolatrous World; yet it was only *perfect* in this restrained, relative, and not in any absolute, independent Sense.

1. For first, that it had no *Perfection* with regard to the *Improvement of human Nature* for the Enjoyment of the supreme Good, I have proved, from the Genius of your whole religious Worship; and its general Direction against the various Idolatries of those early Ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own for my Warrant, the great *Maimonides*: Who indeed little thought, while he was proving this Truth in so invincible a Manner, that he was preparing the reasonable Part of you for the Reception of the Gospel, though some of your later Writers have seen better into this Consequence: And *Orobio*, in his Dispute with *Limborck*, has Part of a Chapter<sup>e</sup> to disprove, or, rather, to deny the Fact. But if your religious Worship consist only of a multifarious burthensome Ritual, relative to the Superstitions of those

<sup>e</sup> The Title of the Chapter is, Quod ritualia non erant præcisè ut Israël ab aliis populis separaretur; neque lex neque populus propter Messiah, sed hic propter populum, ut ei inserviret, p. 86. Ed. Goud.

early

early Times, it is altogether unable to perfect human Nature in such a Manner, as you will and must allow to be the Design of GOD in a revealed Religion universal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the second Branch of this Perfection, the *proposing and procuring the Possession of the supreme Good*: I have shewn that the Law of *Moses* revealed no future State of Rewards and Punishments, but studiously declined the mention of any Doctrine preparatory to it: that no *Mosaical* Tradition supplied this Omission: but that it became a national Doctrine amongst you only in the latter Ages of your Republic; when it arose too from various and discordant Sources; and was brought in on foreign Occasions. But it is very certain, that that Religion must want much of absolute Perfection, which wants a Doctrine so essential to Religion in general. And this yourselves seem to be most sensible of: When, though, during the Existence of your Republic, the Deniers of a future State, such as the *Sadducees*, were not cut off from the Communion of the Synagogue; yet since, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* Cause of Excommunication: — That it is the very Fundamental of Fundamentals<sup>f</sup>; — That to deny this is the same Thing as to deny GOD himself, and the Divinity of his

<sup>f</sup> Scriptit Raf (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de resurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo se habeat) & fundamenta jam exposuimus. Quod si homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, seque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Ecclesiam Israël, & jubemur diligere illum, & misericordiam illi exhibere, & conversari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præ-

Law<sup>s</sup>; and that even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the same Thing as not to believe it at all<sup>h</sup>.

But you will do well, when you have considered the Force of that Reasoning by which I prove a future State not revealed by the *Law*, to go on with me, while I prove, from thence, by certain Consequence, that the Religion of *Moses* came from God. And, in Conclusion, join with me in adoring the infinite Wisdom of the God of your Fathers, here so wonderfully manifested, in making the very same Circumstance a standing Evidence of the Divinity of the *Mosaic Religion*, and, at the same Time, a certain Proof that it was preparatory only to the *Christian*. The logical Result of all our Reasoning being the Confirmation of that sacred Truth, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID<sup>i</sup>.

As a *Corollary* to all *this*, I have shewn, that

cepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum facienda. — Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Ecclesia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, & vocatur impius ac Epicurus, amputatque plantas, quam odio habere & perdere jubemur. *Ex beth Elohim. Vid. Daffovium de Resurrectione*, p. 3. Ed. 1693.

<sup>s</sup> Hæc fides [de Resurrectione mortuorum] — numeretur inter articulos Legis & fundamenta ejus, quam qui negat, perinde facit ac si negaret esse Deum, legem esse a cælo, & quod in aliis iis articulis tractatur. *R. Salomo ap. Daffovium de Resurrect.*

<sup>h</sup> Oportet te scire articulum fidei de resurrectione mortuorum ex lege esse. Quod si quis fide firma crediderit resurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit esse illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur ac si hæc omnia negaret. *R. Jehud. Zabara apud Daffov.*

<sup>i</sup> HEB. vii. 19.

the

the *Punishment of Children for the Crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a Handle to the Enemies of your Law to blaspheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Supposition of *no future State* in the Religion of *Moses*: And further, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable Embarras of your Rabbins, in reconciling the different Declarations between *Moses* and the *Prophets* concerning that Method of Punishment, intirely disappear, and a perfect Harmony and Concord is seen to reign amongst them.

Permit me to observe further to you, that this Rabbinical Notion of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the *Mosaic Dispensation*, which still encourages the Remnant of your Nation to persist in rejecting the Gospel of *Jesus*, was the very Prejudice which, in the first Ages of *Christianity*, so superstitiously attached the Converts from *Judaism* to the whole Observance of the Law.

II In answer to the second Part, your Prejudices against the Credentials of *JESUS's* Messiahship, for the Want of Rational Evidence in a *secondary Sense* of Prophecies, I have proved them to be altogether vain and groundless, 1. By tracing up the Nature of human Converse in Speech, and Writing, from its early Original; and from thence demonstrating, that a *secondary Sense of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the justest Rules of Logic. 2. By shewing that this Method of Information was so exactly suited to the Occasion, that if ever  
you

you were to have a *Messiah* to complete your Law, the Body of the Prophecies, relating to him, must needs be delivered in the very Manner those in Dispute are found to be delivered.

As a *Corollary*, likewise, to *this Part*, I shew, in order to reconcile you still further to the Messiahship of JESUS, that the History of GOD's Dispensations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly understood, or fully cleared from the Objections of Unbelievers, but on the Supposition of the Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Sufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing Proof in the famous History of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I shew to be no other than a Revelation of that Redemption, in Action instead of Words. This strongly corroborates the Mission of JESUS, and should incline you seriously to consider its Force. — Here GOD reveals to your Father *Abraham* the Redemption of Mankind by the Death and Passion of his Son. Why then, I ask you, should we not conclude with our learned Apostle, that *to Abraham and his Seed the Promises being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of GOD in CHRIST, the Law, which was four hundred and thirty Years after, cannot disanul; that it should make the Promise of none Effect* <sup>k</sup>?

Having thus shewn you your Religion, *partial, imperfect, and preparatory*; and consequently

<sup>k</sup> GAL. iii. 16, 17.

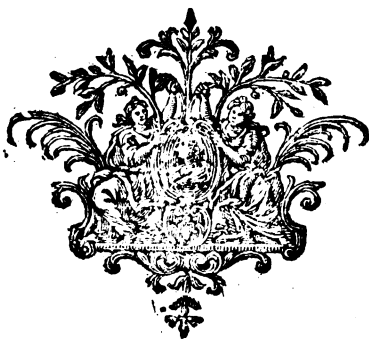
the Necessity of its *Completion* by the teaching of a *Messiah*; and endeavoured to reconcile you to that Character in JESUS, by removing your only plausible Objection, the mistaken Nature of the Prophecies concerning him; as a *Corollary* to the *whole*, I have proved, in order to cure your Prejudices for a worldly Prince, and Restoration to your carnal Dominion in *Judea*, that your Race was not at first chosen by GOD, and settled in the Land of *Canaan* as his *Favourites*, for whom he had a greater Fondness than for the rest of the Sons of *Adam*; but only to serve the general Ends of Providence in its Dispensations to the whole Species; which required the separating one People from the rest of Mankind for many Ages, to preserve, amidst an idolatrous World, the great Doctrine of the *Unity*, as the Foundation of that Universal Revelation to be dispensed by JESUS, when the Fulness of Time should come. Now if this were the Case, then consequently, when that Time was come, and that End obtained, there was no further Use or Service in a National Separation.

Let me conclude with the following Observation, which ought to have some Weight with you. Whoever reads your History, and believes you, on your own Word, to be still obliged to the Religion of *Moses*, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, must needs regard you as a People long since abandoned of GOD. And those who neither *read* nor *believe*, will pretend, at least, to think you abandoned of Reason. Our Scriptures alone give us better Hopes  
of

of your Condition; and excited by the Charity they inspire, I am moved to hazard this Address. For a Time, as they assure us, will come, when this Veil shall be taken from your Hearts. And who knows how near the Day of Visitation may be? At least, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the very lowest Degree, to so glorious a Work? For *if the Fall of you be the Riches of the World, and the Diminishing of you the Riches of the Gentiles, how much more your Fulness!* So the Apostle Paul: who at the same Time assures us, that *Blindness in Part is happened to Israel, until the Fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved*<sup>m</sup>.

I am, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Rom. xi. 12.      <sup>m</sup> y 25, 26.



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S U M M A R Y  
O F T H E  
C O N T E N T S.

VOL. II. in THREE BOOKS,

*Proves that the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments is not to be found in, nor did make Part of the Mosaic Dispensation.*

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A D V E R -

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# ADVERTISEMENT

By the BOOKSELLER.

N. B. THIS Volume has been much longer in the Press than suited my Convenience on many Accounts ; the Discourse on the HIEROGLYPHICS having been printed above a Year ago, and communicated by Mr. Warburton to several Persons ; and, particularly to the Author of a late Book, published about three Months since, intituled, *Philemon to Hydaspes, &c.* from whom he has received the following Letter, in order to be published in this Manner :

‘ To the Author of the Divine Legation, &c.

‘ SIR,

May 14, 1741.

‘ I sent you lately a Present of my Fourth Piece of Conversation between *Philemon* and *Hortensius*, upon the Subject of *False Religion* ; in which, “ as far as it relates to the Rise, Nature, and Progress of *Hieroglyphic* Writing amongst the *Egyptians*, and to the Deduction of Animal Worship from “ the *Hieroglyphics* of their ancient Heroes,” you will find I have “ formed my General Way of Thinking upon Hints received “ from you, either in such of your Papers as you communicated “ to me upon this Subject, or by Personal Conference. In what “ particular Respects, over and above the Pursuit of the same “ General Notion, I may have undesignedly coincided with what “ you are about to communicate to the Public upon the Article “ of *Hieroglyphics*, in the second Volume of your *Divine Legation*, &c. it is impossible for me to say, as I never made a “ single Minute of any thing you ever said to me, or shewed me, “ of this Matter ; and as it was at the Distance of above five “ Months from my having seen either you, or any of your Papers, that I drew up the whole of what I have published concerning *Hieroglyphics* and *Symbolic Worship*. But if it appears, “ upon Comparison of your Thoughts with mine, that in any “ other Respects, than those already mentioned, I have followed “ you more closely than I am myself aware of, I think it but “ just the Public should be made acquainted, that your whole “ Discourse on the *Hieroglyphics* (a Part only of which I remember to have seen) was finished before I set Pen to Paper, with “ relation to them.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ your humble Servant.’

— I have only to add, that from the Time of printing this Discourse on the Hieroglyphics, I could get no more Copy from the Author till after last *Christmas*; so that the rest has been written and printed since in haste, and in the Author's Absence, who has had Time only to give it a cursory reading, in which he observed the following

## E R R A T A.

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|---|--|
| <p>P. 1. l. 26. <i>for and read but</i><br/> P. 14. l. last but two, <i>for same read</i><br/> <i>rest</i><br/> P. 21. l. 22. <i>Comma at true,</i><br/> P. 24. Note 2. l. 18. <i>for Right read</i><br/> <i>Rite</i><br/> P. 25. Note 2. l. 2. <i>for many more</i><br/> <i>read some</i><br/> P. 31. l. 29. <i>for improve read improved</i><br/> P. 48. l. 29. <i>for extravagant and read</i><br/> <i>extravagantly</i><br/> P. 87. l. 3. the following Note re-<br/> <i>ferred to the Word Signs omitted:</i><br/> <i>Οὐτε λέγει, ἅτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σπ-</i><br/> <i>μαίνει. Plut. περί τῶ μὴ χρεῖν ἑμμε-</i><br/> <i>τεῖν, p. 962.</i><br/> P. 94. l. 4. <i>for were read was</i><br/> P. 100. Note 2. l. 5,— 7. <i>for confir-</i><br/> <i>matio read conformatio in both</i><br/> <i>Places.</i></p> | <p>P. 151. l. last but two, <i>for professed</i><br/> <i>read possessed</i><br/> P. 168. l. 17 <i>for is read it</i><br/> P. 182. Note d. l. 5. <i>for in even</i><br/> <i>read even in</i><br/> P. 197. l. 8. <i>for to read by</i><br/> P. 199. l. 33. <i>for seem read seems.</i><br/> P. 208. l. 30. <i>for is read 'tis</i><br/> P. 212. l. last but one, <i>for so a little</i><br/> <i>read so little</i><br/> P. 223. l. 10. <i>for his read this</i><br/> P. 226. l. 22. <i>a full Point at open.</i><br/> P. 240. l. 6. <i>for his read this</i><br/> P. 246. l. 27. <i>for Priorit read Priority</i><br/> P. 306. l. 21. <i>for the Infidelity read</i><br/> <i>their Infidelity</i><br/> P. 309. l. 11. <i>for for read in</i><br/> P. 320. Note c. l. 1. <i>for Circumcision</i><br/> <i>read Uncircumcision</i><br/> P. 356. l. 32. <i>for increase read in-</i><br/> <i>creases</i></p> |
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## In PART II.

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| <p>P. 369. l. 4. <i>for never read ever</i><br/> P. 372. Note 2, l. 22. <i>for Fruitful-</i><br/> <i>ness read Fruitlessness</i><br/> P. 375. l. 12. <i>for this read his</i><br/> P. 399. l. 15. <i>for was read were</i><br/> P. 441. l. 6. <i>for there read these</i><br/> P. 447. l. 27. <i>for their read the</i></p> | <p>P. 464. l. 4. <i>for Priest read Priests</i><br/> P. 469. l. 8. <i>for addresses read addressed</i><br/> P. 474. l. 30. <i>for none read not</i><br/> P. 476. l. 17. <i>dele but</i><br/> P. 495. l. 5. <i>for highly read lightly</i><br/> P. 528. l. 15. <i>after the Word or add</i><br/> <i>HIS</i></p> |
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THE  
DIVINE LEGATION  
OF  
MOSES  
DEMONSTRATED.

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BOOK IV.

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SECT. I.

“ **V**IDEO hanc primam ingressionem me-  
 “ am (*to use Cicero's Apology for his In-*  
 “ novations) non ex oratoris disputationi-  
 “ bus ductam, sed è mediâ Philosophiâ  
 “ repetitam, & eam quidem cum antiquam tum  
 “ subobscuram, aut reprehensionis aliquid, aut certe  
 “ admirationis habituram. Nam aut mirabuntur  
 “ quid hæc pertineant ad ea quæ quærimus: qui-  
 “ bus satisfaciet res ipsa cognita, ut non sine causâ  
 “ alte repetita videatur: aut reprehendent, quod  
 “ inusitatas vias indagemus, tritas relinquamus.  
 “ Ego autem me sæpe nova videri dicere intelligo,  
 “ cum pervetera dicam, sed inaudita plerisque.”

<sup>a</sup> *Orator. c. iii.*

The foregoing Volume hath shewn the Reader that it was always the Practice of Mankind to listen to, and embrace some pretended *Revelation*, to the neglect of what is called, in Contradistinction to it, the *Religion of Nature*: Such I mean as is founded on our relation to the first Cause, and deducible from the eternal Reason of Things<sup>b</sup>.

If ever a general *Propensity* might be called a Dictate of Nature, this surely may; its Universality, the Deist, or pretended Follower of *natural Religion*, freely confesseth; nay affecteth to glory in, as deeming it a discredit to those *revealed ones* which we receive for true. Yet surely, of all his visionary Advantages, none ever afforded him less Cause of Triumph than this; a Consequence flowing from it entirely subversive of his whole Scheme.

For let me ask such a one what could be the Cause of so universal a Concurrence in all Ages, Places, and People? — But, before he answers, let him see that he be able to distinguish between the Causes which the *few* had in *giving*, and the *many* in *receiving*, pretended Revelations. The Causes of projecting and *giving* are explained at large in the foregoing Volume; where we have shewn that all the *pretended* Revelations, and *real* Corruptions of Religion, came from Princes and Legislators. It is true his *Masters* tell him another Story. The *Tolands* and the *Tindals* assure him that all came from the PRIESTS; and I believe

<sup>b</sup> Σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τὸ δεισιδαίμονιον πάντως, ἐπίσκειψαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Φύσιν μὲν ἐν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίας, μάλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλὸν τι καὶ ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαίνειν τὸ θεῶν προσηγορέαν τε καὶ εἶσαν. πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς προσελήφεσαν, ὅτι ὅλων Δημιουργῶν, τῶτο πάσης λογικῇ καὶ νοεῶν ψυχῇ, φυσικῶς ἐννοίας ὑπαπαίρασι. ἔτι μὲν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκείνου. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6.

they

they spoke to the best of their Knowledge: It might be so for ought they knew.

What then, I ask him, could cause Mankind so readily to embrace these offered Revelations, but

1. Either a *Consciousness* that they wanted a *revealed Will* for their Rule of Action; or,

2. An old *Tradition* that God had used to vouchsafe it to their *Forefathers*.

There can be no *third*; for a general Effect must have as general a Cause: which, in this case, is only to be found in the Nature of Man; or in a Tradition preserved in the whole Race. *Prince-Craft* or *Priest-Craft* might indeed *offer* them for private Ends, but nothing short of a common Reason could dispose Mankind to *accept* them.

1. As to Man's *Consciousness of his want of a Revelation*, that may fairly be inferred from the miserable Blindness of his Condition: And he who wants to be informed of *that*, should consult Antiquity; or, what may be more to his Taste, those modern Writers, who, for no very good Ends, but yet to much good Use, have drawn, from thence, such lively Pictures of it<sup>c</sup>. But without going even so far, he may find, in the very *Disposition* to receive such absurd Schemes of Religion as Revelations from Heaven, more than a thousand other Arguments to prove Mankind ignorant of the very principles of Natural Religion; a moderate Knowledge of which would have certainly detected the Imposture of those Pretences. But now, Men so totally at a Loss for a Rule of Life, would greedily embrace any Direction that came with a Sanction from Heaven.

<sup>c</sup> See the first Volume of the *Div. Leg.* p. 34. edit. 2<sup>d</sup>.

If we turn to the few *Wise* and *Learned* of Antiquity, we shall find the matter still more desperate. These were blinder even than the People; and in Proportion as they were less conscious of their Ignorance. The most advanced in the Knowledge of human Nature and its Dependencies, were, without Question, the ancient *Sages of Greece*. Of these, the wisest, and far the wisest, was *Socrates*; for he saw and confessed his Ignorance, and deplored the want of a superior Direction. For the rest, who *thought themselves wise*, and appeared not so sensibly to feel their Wants, we have shewn at large<sup>d</sup>, how they *became Fools*; and, debauched by false Science, affected the Language of Gods before they were well emancipated from the Condition of Brutes<sup>e</sup>. The two fundamental Supports of Natural Religion are the Belief of a *future State*, and the Knowledge of *Moral Obligation*. The first they unanimously agreed to reject: and tho' in the latter they agreed not at all, and no two went the same way, yet not one hit upon the right: The Honour of this Discovery was reserved for true Revelation, which teaches us, in Spite of unwilling Hearers, that *the real ground of Moral Obligation is the Will of God*.

2. There only remains that other possible Cause, *the general Tradition of God's early Revelation of himself to Mankind*, as delivered in Scripture. I, for my Part suppose both concerned in the Effect; and that that State of Mind which disposed Men to so ready and general a Reception of these numerous Impostures, was the Result of the Conscionousness of their *Wants*, joined to the Prejudice of *Tradition*. If the Deist allows the latter, he gives

<sup>d</sup> Book iii. Sect. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

<sup>e</sup> The *Stoics*, who thought the Soul mortal, reckoned their *wise Men* equal, or superior, to the Gods.

up the Question; if the former, we shall try to force it from him: A strong Presumption arising from hence in favour of Revelation.

For if Mankind (let the Cause proceed from what it will) be so unavoidably blind and helpless, it is highly reasonable to think that the good God would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary Revelation of his Will.

But here *Tindal* steps in and says, that this Blindness is Men's own Fault, who instead of improving their Reason, and following its Dictates, which would lead them into all Truth, (our own Scriptures assuring us that *that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them:*<sup>f</sup>) go on like Beasts, and follow one another as they are led.

To this I answer, that what had been the way of Man from the *Beginning* of the World to the Birth of CHRIST, was like to continue so to the *End* of it. A Deviation starting from no partial Cause of Climate, Government, or Age; but the fatal Effect of human Weakness in the Circumstance of an earthly Situation. — By the Fault of Man 'tis true; but such a Fault as was seen, by sad Experience, Man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for Relief; and would seem to have Reason for his Confidence.

But to this our *Man of Morals* has a Reply ready; that if such be our Condition it may indeed want Redress, but then a Revelation of the Rule of Right can never give a sufficient one; and for this he appeals to *the corrupt State of the Christian World*; which, in his Opinion, seems to require a *new* Revelation to restore the Virtue and Efficacy of the *old*.

<sup>f</sup> ROM. i. 19, 20.

But let me tell this idle Reasoner, there is an extreme Difference between the Corruption of the Pagan and Christian World. In the *Pagan*, where false Revelations had given Men wrong Ideas of the Attributes of the Deity, they must of course, and did in fact act viciously UPON PRINCIPLE<sup>s</sup>; a Condition of Blindness that seemed to call out on God's Goodness for a Remedy: But in the *Christian* World, for the very contrary Reason, all wicked Men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a Condition of Perverseness that seems to call out for nothing but his Justice: He, according to the State of the Case, having done every thing that Man, with all his Presumption, can pretend to hope for from the Mercy of his Maker.

So far on the Deist's own Principles; on his own false Notion that God's Revelation is merely a *Republication of the Religion of Nature*. For, as such he has vouchsafed to give it us; and as such, in excess of Complaisance, we have commonly thought fit to receive it. But I shall, e'er long, shew it to be quite another thing; and, from its true Nature, prove not only, as here, the *Use* of

§ See *Div. Leg.* p. 147.—8. vol. i. edit. 2<sup>d</sup>.—Τῇ φύσει θνήσκῃς καὶ ἀνθρωπινὰς κεχρημένῃς συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθὸν χορηγῆς, σωτήρος καὶ θεοῦ ἀναγορεύειν, τῷ σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς εὐπαρέχουσαν, ἵφ' ἧς εὐόμιζον, οὐρεγέτας μελαθιέκότες. τούτων δ' ἅρᾳ συνῆχεν αὐτὴς φρενῶν ἀπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῷ πλημμελεσμένων τοῖς θεολογημένοις καταλογίζεσθαι, μηδ' ἐρυθρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαῖς παρ' αὐτῷ φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τῆς ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῷ παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἣ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας διωκτείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀπικαυμάζειν. νόμων γὰρ, ὅσπερ ἔφω, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτισμοῦ, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανόμοις ἀμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπωρημένων, μοιχείας καὶ ἀρρένων φθορὰς, οὐδέσμως τε καὶ ὠδυνόμας γάμους, μαρτυρίας τε καὶ παλαγομένης, τέκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μὴ καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἀπεργαζομένης ὄντως τοῖς οἰκέταις πρόσεται, εἰς θεοῦ ἡγυῖό τε καὶ ἀπικάλαν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέτρῃ καλοθεωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπερνημόνδον, τῷ τῶν μνημῶν ὡς σημῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὀφειγμένοις ἀπλησιότις. *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 6.

Reve-

Revelation, but likewise the *absolute Necessity* of it to Mankind. I shall shew that what our Adversaries suppose the *only*, was but the *secondary* End of the two Revelations; that what was primary and peculiar, was of such a Nature as the utmost Perversity of Man could not, in any degree, defeat; of such a Nature as manifests there must needs be *these*; and that to expect *more*, or *further*, would not only be unreasonable, but absurd.

But to go on, at present, with our Deist in his own way. — From what hath been said, we see a strong Presumption ariseth for God's having indeed communicated his Will to Mankind, in that extraordinary way we call *Revelation*.

And now, that amazing Number of *false* Religions, under Paganism, begins to appear less formidable and injurious to the *true*. We suspected it would prove so, when, in the foregoing Volume, we adventur'd to draw them out in Review, with each its false Prophet at its head<sup>b</sup>. And here at last we have employed them, wicked Instruments as they are, and wickedly as they have been abused to terrify Believers, to evidence the high probability of God's having actually given a *Revelation* to Mankind.

If therefore there be such a thing as *true* Revelation, our highest Interests will engage us in the Search of it: And we shall want no Encouragement to proceed, because it must needs have some *characteristic Mark* to distinguish it from the *false*. And this Mark must be our Guide.

Now if we look round the ancient World, and take a View of the numerous Religions of Paganism, we shall find (notwithstanding all *pretended* to be original, and all *were* actually independent,)

<sup>b</sup> See Book ii. Sect. 2.

so perfect a Harmony in their Genius, and Conformity in their Ministrations, as to the *Object*, *Subject*, and *End* of Religious Worship<sup>i</sup>, that we must needs conclude them to be all false, or all true. But all true they could not be, because they contradicted one another, in Matters of Practice and Speculation, professed to be revealed.

But in this prodigious number of pretended Revelations, we find ONE, in an obscure Quarter of the Globe, inhabited by a single Family, so fundamentally opposite to all the other Institutions of Mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we search for.

The many Particulars in which this Religion differed from all others will be occasionally explained as we go along. For, as our Subject forced us, in the former Volume, to draw into View those Marks of Agreement which the *false* had with *true* Revelation; so the same Subject brings us now to the more pleasing Task of shewing wherein the *true* differed from the *false*—To our present Purpose it will be sufficient to take Notice only of that primary and grand Mark of Distinction that differenced *Judaism* from all the rest; which was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS, AND CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not *one* of all that numerous Rabble of Revelations, ever pretended to come from the *first Cause*<sup>k</sup>, or taught the Worship of the one God in their *public* Ministrations<sup>l</sup>. So true is what

<sup>i</sup> See Book ii. Sect. 1, 2, 5, 6. Book iii. Sect. 4.

<sup>k</sup> See *Div. Leg.* Book ii. Sect. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Dr. *Prideaux*, in his excellent History, has indeed told us a very entertaining Story of *Zoroastres*; whom, of an early Lawgiver of the *Bactrians*, he hath made a late false Prophet



the great *Eusebius* observes from Scripture, that  
 “ for the *Hebrew People* alone was reserved the  
 “ Honour of being *initiated* into the Knowledge  
 “ of *God the Creator* of all Things, and of being  
 “ instructed in the Practice of true Piety towards  
 “ him<sup>m</sup>.” — I said in *their public Ministrations*,

of the *Persians*, and the Preacher up of one God in the public Religion; which Doctrine, however, this learned Man supposes was stolen from the *Jews*. But the Truth is, the whole is a pure Fable, contradicts all *learned Antiquity*, and is supported only by the ignorant and romantic Relations of late *Persian* Writers under the *Califes*; who make *Zoroastres* contemporary with *Darius Hystaspis*, and Servant to one of the *Jewish* Prophets; yet in another fit of Lying, they place him as early as *Moses*, they even say he was *Abraham*, nay stick not to make him one of the Builders of *Babel*. — I have often wonder’d how such crude Imaginations of over zealous Men should ever be thought serviceable to Revelation, when they may be so easily turned against it; for all Falshood is naturally of the Party with Infidelity. I have long indeed looked when some *minute Philosopher* would settle upon this corrupted Place: And just as I thought, one of these idle, teasing things hath lately given it the Infidel Taint; having grounded, upon this good old Man’s Afternoon-Dream, I can’t tell what Foolery, of the *Jews receiving, in the Time of their Captivity, juster Notions of God and his Providence from the Followers of Zoroastres*. — See *The Moral Philosopher* vol. ii. p. 144. and vol. i. a Book now not likely to be forgotten since the Rev. Mr. *Chapman*’s very learned and solid Confutation of it. — I shall have a fitter Opportunity hereafter of examining this *PERSIAN TALE*; and as this Use has been made of it, I shall try to do it effectually.

<sup>m</sup> — μόνω ἡ τῷ Ἑβραίων ᾧ οἱ ἑποπτεῖαν ἀνατεθεῖσθαι τῷ ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ ἡ οἷον πωλητῆς καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθῆς δισεβείας. *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. ix. p. 20. Here we have another Evidence to the Truth of what is delivered in the former Volume, concerning the Doctrines and ἀντιρρήσια of the greater Mysteries. *Eusebius* says, Scripture tells us this, τὸτο ἡ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κατ’ ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσιν λόγοι. And so indeed it does even in the general Tenor of its History. But I am persuaded this learned Writer had here his Eye on some particular Passage: And I can think of none so likely as the xlv<sup>th</sup> Chapter of *Isaiah*; where the Prophet foretelling the Conquests of *Cyrus*, and the Exaltation of his Empire, apostrophizes the God of *Israel* in this manner, *Verily thou art a God THAT HIDEST*

for

for I have shewn it was taught in their *Mysteries* to a few; and to their *Mysteries* it is remarkable the learned *Father* alludes; he opposing the Case

THYSELF, O God of Israel the Saviour, § 15. This was said with great Propriety of the Creator of all Things, who was the Subject of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or *Secret*, in all the *Mysteries* quite thro' the *Gentile* World; and particularly of those of *Mythras* in the Country which was the Scene of this Prophecy. How much the Commentators are puzzled to explain this Text, may be seen by those who please to turn to them. That our Sense, which makes it relate to the *Gentiles* and their *Mysteries*, is the true, appears from the following Words of the same Chapter, where God himself speaks in this manner: *I have not spoken IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE of the Earth: I said not unto the Seed of Jacob seek ye me IN VAIN*, § 19. This he addresseth to the *Jews*, to shew them that he was taught amongst them in a different manner to that in which he was revealed to the few *Gentiles* who participated of that Knowledge; which, being communicated in their *Mysteries*, was *in secret*, in a dark subterraneous Place; and this not being in order to give him Glory, by promoting his public and general Worship, was done *in vain*. These were the two Places, (explained by one another) which, I presume, furnished *Eusebius* with his Observation, *That for the Hebrew People alone was reserved the Honour of being initiated into the Knowledge of God the Creator of all Things, and of being instructed in the Practice of true Piety towards him.* — This leads me to explain those Oracles of *Apollo*, quoted by *Eusebius* [*Præp. Evang.* l. ix. c. x.] from *Porphyry*, the Sense of which neither those ancient Writers, nor our Sir *John Marsham* seem rightly to have understood. The first is in these Words,

Αἰπεινὴ γὰρ ὁδὸς μακάρων, τερχηῖά τε ποδῶν,  
 Καλκοδέτοισι καὶ πρῶτα διουγαῶν τε πυλεῶσιν.  
 Ἀτρεπτοῖσι δ' ἔασι βέβηλα ἰσχυρά,  
 Ἄς πρῶτοι μερόπων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πρῆξω ἔφηναν,  
 Οἱ τὸ καλὸν πίνοντες ὕδωρ Νειλῶτιδι αἶψα.

*The Way to the Knowledge of the Divine Nature is extremely rugged, and of difficult Ascent. The Entrance is secured by brazen Gates, opening to the Adventurer; and the Roads to be passed thro' impossible to be described. These, to the vast Benefit of Mankind, were first mark'd out by the Egyptians.*

The second is as follows:

Μῆνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λάχον ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,  
 Αὐτοβρίβηλον ἀνακλῖα σιβαζέμενοι Θεὸν ἀγῶως.

of

# Sect. I. of MOSES demonstrated. 11

of the *Hebrews* to the Pagans, where a small select Number only was initiated into the Knowledge of the Creator; but here, a whole People:

*True Wisdom was the Lot only of the Chaldeans and Hebrews, who worship the Governor of the World, the self-existent Deity with pure and holy Rites.*

Marshall supposing, after Eusebius, that the same thing was spoken of in both the Oracles, says, *Certe nulla est controversia quin ὁ θεὸς μοναρχίας de unius regimine sive de unico Deo reverens fuerit & rectissima Ebraeorum, non item recta Ægyptiorum existimatio.* And again, — *Verum Apollo parum sibi constans.* [Canon Chron. p. 155, — 6. edit. Fr.] because in the one Oracle the *Egyptians* are said to be the first, and in the other, the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* the only People who knew the true God. But they are very consistent; as treating of very different things: In the first, of the Knowledge of the true God; and the second, of his public Worship. This appears by the different Terms in which the Oracles are delivered: The *Hebrews*, whom the Oracle, by another Name calls *Chaldeans*, were well known to be the only People who publicly worshipped the true God. But the Knowledge of him being likewise taught, tho' to few, all over the *Gentile* World, and only in the Mysteries, and the Mysteries coming, as we have shewn, originally from *Egypt*, the Oracle says that the *Egyptians* first taught Men the Knowledge of the Divine Natures. But that it was in this way, his Words plainly intimate:

Ἀρεσκὺν δὲ ἵνα καὶ ἀθέσφατος ἡ γνῶσις αὐτοῦ,

which exactly describe the State of the *Initiated* before they came to the participation of this Knowledge; but when the same Oracle speaks of the *Hebrews* Knowledge of God, he uses quite another Language,

σεβάζειν μοι θεὸν ἀγνῶτον.

evidently respecting their public Worship. I will only observe that the Frights and Terrors to which the Aspirants to Initiation were exposed, were what gave birth to all those metaphorical Terms of *Difficulty* and *Danger* constantly employed by the *Greek* Writers, whenever they speak of the Communication of the Knowledge of the true Deity.

While I am upon these Matters, it may not be amiss to take notice of another remarkable Passage of Antiquity, relating to the same Subject, and which hath been as little understood. Syncellus from *Africanus* speaking of the very early *Egyptian* King, *Suphis*, says, ὁ δὲ καὶ ΠΕΡΙΟΠΤΗΣ εἰς θεὸν ἐχρῆτο.  
And

And that his beautiful Allusion might not be overlooked, he has chosen to employ the very Words appropriated to the *Secret* of the higher *Mysteries*;

ὁ ὁ ἱερὸν Συνέγραψε βιβλίον, *This King was a Contemplator of the Gods, and wrote a sacred Book.* The Reader may see by what Sir J. Marsham and Mr. Shuckford have said on this Passage, who have both quoted it, [*Can. Chron.* p. 53. *Sacr. and Prof. Hist. Con.* vol. ii. edit. 2. p. 129.] how much it wants explaining: What increases the Embarrass, is the different Account *Eusebius* in *Syncellus* gives of the matter; who says, that this King was a Contemner of the Gods, and that, on his Repentance, he wrote a sacred Book; ὁς καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς γέγονεν, ὡς μετάνοήσαντα αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερὸν Συνέγραψε βιβλίον. These odd and obscure Traits of History can be only interpreted by what hath been delivered in the first Volume, concerning the *Mysteries*; which, as we have shewn, were originally *Egyptian*; and had for their grand *Secrets* or ἀπὸκρύφια, the Detection of Polytheism, the Revelation of the first Cause, and philosophic Speculations concerning his Essence; and, by the account of the Causes of the ἀπὸκρύφια, it appears they were somewhat posterior to the first Institution of the *Mysteries*. I regard therefore these Words of *Africanus* as a most remarkable Piece of History, conveying to us the Memory of the first Institutor of the ἀπὸκρύφια of the *Mysteries*. The Word ὑπερόπτης, which was a formulary Term in these Rites, and the Circumstance of *Suphis's* writing a *sacred Book*, which was the Name given to that read before the *Initiated*, at his Participation of the *Secret* very much confirm this Interpretation. To which let me add this further Consideration: *Suphis*, according to *Marsham* and *Shuckford*, dyed about forty Years after *Abraham*: *Abraham*, without Question, promulged his Knowledge of the true God to the idolatrous *Egyptians*: *Suphis* therefore, I suppose, soon after, took the Advantage of that Knowledge (which he found amongst the Priests, with whom *Abraham*, as *Damascenus* in *Eusebius* informs us, had many Disputes and Conferences about Religion) to apply it to this Purpose. And now the different Account from *Eusebius*, of *Suphis's* being a Contemner of the Gods, is so far from giving us any Trouble, that it greatly strengthens our Explanation: For if *Suphis* instituted a *Secret* which detected Polytheism, he certainly was and would be esteemed, by all who knew this Piece of History, a Contemner of the Gods; and so we find in the first Volume were all they who suffer'd the *Secret*, into which they had been initiated, to get air. Now *Eusebius* finding this delivered of *Suphis*, by ancient Writers, and, at the same time, that he wrote a *sacred Book*; and, thro' his Ignorance of what

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as, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑ, which signifies *the Inspection of the Secret*; ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, *the Contemplation of it*; and ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, *the Creator*<sup>n</sup>, the Subject of it.

this matter referred to, not apprehending how a profane Person could write a *sacred Book*, which contained in it a kind of Ritual of Worship; he did, as it would seem, endeavour to reconcile these Accounts, by supposing *Suphis* repented of his Impiety before he wrote his Book. Lastly, this is the very Language the Chroniclers use, when they speak of the Initiation of their succeeding Kings. *Manetho* in *Josephus* hath a remarkable Passage to this Purpose; speaking of *Amenophis*, Φησὶ τῶτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι Θεῶν θύεας ΘΕΑΤΗΝ, ὡς ὅτι ὁ ὅρος εἰς τὸ πρὸ αὐτῶ βεβασίλευσεν· ἀνεγενεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμωνύμων μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει, πατρὸς δὲ Πάπυ· ὅτι, θείας δὲ δοκῶντι μετεχκεῖναι φύσεως, καὶ αὐτὸς (ὡς ἴσως) καὶ πρὸς γένωσιν τῶν ἰσομήμων· εἰπεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ τῶτον τὸ ὁμωνύμων, ὅτι διωθήσετ' Θεὸς ΙΔΕΙΝ, εἰ καθαρὸν δὲ τε λεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μικρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ χώρον ἄπασαν ποιήσεται. *Cont. Apion.* l. i. c. xxvi. He says, that *Amenophis* desired to be made a *Contemplator of the Gods*, as was *Orus* one of his *Predecessors* in the Kingdom: and that he communicated this desire to his Namesake *Amenophis*, the Son of *Papis*, who appear'd to have participated of the Divine Nature, by his Wisdom and Prescience of Events. His Namesake therefore told him he might have the Privilege of seeing the Gods, if he would purge the whole Country from leprous and unclean Persons. We see here nothing was desired by *Amenophis*, of this Son of *Papis*, who seems to have been the *Hierophant* of the *Mysteries*, and therefore celebrated for his Knowledge and Skill in divining, but an *Initiation*, which is enforced by the Example of his Predecessor *Orus*, in the manner of *Aeneas's* Request to the Sibyl, by the Example of *Orpheus*, *Hercules*, &c.

*Si potuit manis arcessere conjux Orpheus, &c.*

It is related in the high Terms of *seeing the Gods*, and *participating of the Divine Nature*, agreeably to what we have observed was the general Custom; partly to render *Initiation* more venerable and solemn, and partly because the Celebration was performed in Shew and Machinery: The Aspirant is required to cleanse the Land of the Unclean; as a Part of those previous Ceremonies of Purification, which we have shewn were of necessity to be performed, before Admission to the *Mysteries*. And now what becomes of the *Parallel* which *Marshall* draws between all these Passages here explained, and *Moses's* Visions of God, at the Bush, and in the Mount?

" See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 154. 2<sup>d</sup>. Edit.

II. That

II. That the *Hebrews* were as *singular* in condemning all other Religions of Imposture, as in publicly worshipping one God the Creator, hath been shewn in the former Volume.

There is nothing more amazing in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidst their endless Revelations, not one of them should pretend to come from the first Cause of all Things; or should condemn the rest of Falshood: And yet there is nothing modern Writers are more accustomed to pass over without Reflexion. But the ancient *Fathers*, who were more intimately acquainted with the State of Paganism, seem to have regarded it with that Attention so extraordinary a Circumstance deserves; and I apprehend, it was the Difficulty of accounting for the Phænomenon that made them recur so generally as they do to the Agency of the *Devil*: For I must beg leave to assure certain modern Authors who have the Credit of more enlarged Views and intimate Knowledge of Mankind, that the *Fathers* are not commonly led away by a vain Superstition, as they have affected to represent them: So that when these venerable Writers unanimously concurred in thinking, *that the Devil had a great Share in the Introduction and Support of Pagan Revelations*, I imagine they were led to this Conclusion from such like Considerations as these, — That had these Impostures been the sole Agency of Men, it is inconceivable that no one false Prophet, no one speculative Philosopher, who regulated States, were well acquainted with the first Cause, and affected Singularities and Refinement, should ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the only true God; or have condemned the same as false: was it only in order to advance his own above the rest, in Point of *Original* or *Truth*: On the contrary, so averse were

were they to any thing of this, that those who pretended to Inspirations from *Jupiter* never considered him in the Sense of the Creator of all Things, but as the local tutelary *Jupiter*, him of *Crete*, for Instance, or *Libya*. Again, those who pretended to the best System of Religion, meant not the best *simply*; but only that which was so for their own Community°. This, on a Supposition of no super-natural Agency, seemed, as we say, utterly unaccountable. But admitting the Devil to his Share, a very good Reason might be assigned: For it is certain, that his suffering any of his Agents to pretend Inspiration from the first Cause would have *greatly endangered* Idolatry; and his suffering any of them to condemn the rest of Falseness, would, (by setting Men upon Enquiry and Examination,) *soon have put a Stop* to the unbounded Progress of it.

Thus, I suppose, the *Fathers* reasoned: And I believe our Free-thinkers, with all their Logic, would find it difficult to shew they reasoned wrong.

But as we have made it our Business, all along, to enquire into the *natural* Causes of Paganism, in all its amazing Appearances, we shall go on, in the same way, to see what may be assigned for this most amazing of all.

1. First then, the *false Prophet* and *Politician*, who *formerly* cheated under one and the same Person<sup>p</sup>, found it necessary, on his Character of *Prophet*, to pretend Inspiration from the God most revered by the People<sup>q</sup>; and this God was generally one of their dead Ancestors, or Citizens, whose Services to the Community had procured him divine Honours<sup>r</sup>; and who was, of course, a

° See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 322,—3.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101. ed. 2<sup>d</sup>. <sup>q</sup> See p. 470. <sup>r</sup> p. 94.

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Thus, I suppose, the *Fathers* reasoned: And I believe our Free-thinkers, with all their Logic, would find it difficult to shew they reasoned wrong.

But as we have made it our Business, all along, to enquire into the *natural* Causes of Paganism, in all its amazing Appearances, we shall go on, in the same way, to see what may be assigned for this most amazing of all.

1. First then, the *false Prophet* and *Politician*, who *formerly* cheated under one and the same Person<sup>p</sup>, found it necessary, on his Character of *Prophet*, to pretend Inspiration from the God most revered by the People<sup>q</sup>; and this God was generally one of their dead Ancestors, or Citizens, whose Services to the Community had procured him divine Honours<sup>r</sup>; and who was, of course, a

° See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 322,—3.

<sup>r</sup> *Ibid.* p. 101. ed. 2<sup>d</sup>. <sup>q</sup> See p. 470. <sup>r</sup> p. 94.

local tutelary Deity. On his Character of *Politician*, he thought it of greatest use to have the national Worship, *that* of the Founder of the Society, or the Father of the Tribe: For a God who had them in *peculiar* suited the gross Conceptions of the People much better than a common Deity at large. But this Practice gave Birth to two Principles (the unavoidable Consequences of it,) which prevented all Pretence of Revelation from the one God the Creator. 1. The first was, that Opinion of their Divines, that the first Cause did not *immediately* concern himself with the Government of the World, but left it to local tutelary Deities, his Vicegerents<sup>s</sup>. 2. The second, that Opinion of Legislators, that it would be of fatal Consequence to Society to discover the first Cause of all Things to the People<sup>t</sup>.

2. But secondly, that which one would imagine should have brought the one God, the Creator, to the Knowledge of the World, in some public Institution of Religion, namely its being taught to so many in the Mysteries, and particularly to all who set upon Revelation and Lawgiving<sup>v</sup>, was the very thing that kept him unknown: Because all who were thus taught it, had the Knowledge communicated to them under the most solemn Seal of Secrecy.

3. Now while the first Cause of all Things was rejected, or unknown, and nothing acknowledged in the Public Worship but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own Appointment, and little concerned himself with that of another's, no one Religion could accuse the other of Falseness, because they all stood upon the same Foundation.

<sup>s</sup> *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 400,—1. edit. 2<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Book ii. Sect. 4.   <sup>v</sup> p. 193.

How

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in question, is submitted to the Judgment of the Learned.

Here then we rest. An *essential* Difference between the *Jewish* and all other Religions is now found. The very Mark we wanted to discriminate the *true* from the *false*.

As for any Marks of Resemblance in Matters circumstantial, this will give us no manner of Concern. The Shame of this must lye with the Deist, who can, in Conscience, bring it into Account for the equal Falshood of them both; seeing, was the *Jewish*, as we pretend, *true*, and the Pagan *false*, that very Resemblance must still remain. For what, I pray, is a false Religion, but the Counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counterfeit but to assume the likeness of the thing usurped? In good earnest, an Impostor, without a single Feature of Truth, would be a Rarity even amongst Monsters.

## S E C T. II.

**B**UT our proper Business in this Work is not *Probability*, but *Demonstration*. This therefore only by the way; and to lead us the more easily into the main Road of our Enquiry: For the Reader now sees we are pursuing no desperate Adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the *Divinity* of MOSES's Law, from the Circumstances of the Law itself.

I now go on in my proposed *Demonstration*.

Having proved in the foregoing Volume the *first* and *second* Propositions — *That the inculcating the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments is necessary to the well being of Civil Society*; — and, *That all Mankind, especially the most*  
 VOL. II. C wise

*wise and learned Nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this Doctrine was of such use to Civil Society: — I come now to the third,*

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now, as in support of the *two first* Propositions, I was forced to fight my way thro' the long Chicane of *Atheism* and *Free-thinking*; so in Defence of this *third*, I shall have the much harder Fate of finding an Adversary in the Quarter of our Friends: For it hath unluckily happen'd that mistaken Conceptions of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Dispensations, have made some Advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confess the Truth here contended for; and a late despicable Whimsy concerning an early Sadducism amongst the *Hebrews*, hath now violently inclined them to oppose it.

A Man less fond of *Truth*, and equally attached to Religion, would have here stopt short, — and ventured no further in a Road where he must suffer the frequent Mortification of forsaking those he most values, and the much greater of appearing to go along with those he most dissents from. — Yet all this I can endure for the sake of *Truth*. — I have often indeed asked myself, what had I to do to invent *new* Arguments for Religion, when the *old* ones had outlived so many Generations of this mortal Race of Infidels and Free-thinkers? Why did I not rather chuse the high Road of Honours, and pick out some poor Critic or small Philosopher of this School to offer up at the Shrine of violated Sense and Virtue? Things that might be exposed to their deserved Contempt

Contempt on any Principles, or indeed without any: I might then have flourished in the Favour of my Superiors, and the Good-will of *all* my Brethren; Advantages I prize above every thing, next the Service of sacred *Truth*; — but the love of that breaks all my Measures: *Imperiosa trahit veritas*; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled Torrent of Antiquity.

— These various Prejudices therefore oblige me to prove the *third* Proposition in the same full manner I proved the *first* and *second*; and this will require a previous Explanation of the *Mosaic Policy*.

But to form a right Idea of that Institution, it will be necessary to know the Genius and Manners of the *Hebrew People*; tho' it be, as we contend, of *divine* Appointment; and still more necessary to know the Character and Abilities of their *Lawgiver*, if it be, as our Adversaries pretend, only of *human*.

Now as this People and their Leader, immediately on receiving the *Law*, were just come from a strange Country, EGYPT; where the first had been held in Slavery and Oppression; and the other bred at Court, and instructed in all the Learning of their Colleges; it could not but be that the Genius and Manners of both would receive a high Tincture from those with whom they had so long conversed: And in fact, Holy Scripture assures us, that MOSES was *learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians*, and that the People were *besotted with all their Whoredoms or Idolatries*.

It will be of Importance then to know the State of *Egyptian Superstition* and *Learning* in these early times.

This, tho' a necessary, one would think should be no difficult Enquiry: And that the same Scripture which tells us *MOSES* and his People brought their *Wisdom* and *Superstitions* from *Egypt* should tell us also what they both were. And so indeed it does, as will be seen in due time: Yet, by ill luck, the plain fact stands, at present, so precarious, as to need much Pains and many Words to make it owned. Divines do indeed seem to allow the Testimony of *Stephen* and *Ezekiel*, under the Impulse of Inspiration, that *MOSES* was learned in all the *Wisdom*, and the People devoted to all the *Superstitions* of *Egypt*; yet, when they come to explain that *Learning*, they make it to consist in such Fopperies, as a wise and honest Man, like *MOSES*, could not, and would not use: When they come to particularize those *Superstitions*, they will not even allow the *Golden Calf*, the ὁ ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ἔτεκε ὁ ἄπης καλεόμην<sup>w</sup>, to be one of them: For by an odd Chance, tho' not uncommon in blind Scuffles, the Infidels and we have chang'd Weapons; and our Enemies attack us with the *Bible* to prove the *Egyptians* very learned and very superstitious in the Time of *MOSES*; and we defend ourselves against it with the *New Chronology* of *Sir Isaac Newton*, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

Would the Reader know how this happened, he may please to be informed it was on this occasion: — The Infidels had observed, (as who that ever looked into Sacred and Profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the *Jewish* Law there were many Ordinances respective of the Institutions of *Egypt*. This Circumstance they seized, and, according to Custom, envenomed; by drawing from

<sup>w</sup> *Herod.* l. iii. c. 28.

thence

thence a Conclusion against the Divine Inspiration of MOSES. The Defenders of Revelation, surprized with the Novelty of the Argument, did that in a Fright, and in excess of Caution, which one may observe *unprepared* Disputants generally do to support their Opinions; that is, chose rather to deny the *Premisses* than the *Conclusion*. For such a one not knowing to what his Adversary's Principles may lead, thinks it a Point of Prudence to cut off all Danger, and to stop him in his first Advance: Whereas the skilful Disputant well understands that he never has his Enemy at more Advantage than when he shews him arguing wrong from his own Principles. For the Question being then to be decided by the infallible Maxims of Logic, the Ignorance of his Adversary, and the Force of his Confutation will set off one another with all the Advantage he can wish. When this is over, he may turn with a very good Grace upon the *Premisses*; to expose them, if false; to rectify them, if misrepresented; or to employ them in the Service of Religion, if true and faithfully delivered: And this Service they will never refuse him; as I shall shew in the previous Question of *the high Antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main one of *the Omission of a future State in the Institution of the Hebrews*.

And I am well persuaded that had those excellent Advocates of Religion, whose Labours have set the Truth in a Light not to be resisted, but duly weighed the Character of those they had to do with, they would have been less startled at any Consequences the Power of their Logic could have deduced. The *Tolands*, the *Blounts*, the *Tindals*, are, in truth, a Race of poor cold-headed Dreamers, in whose Composition we find more of *that Quality* which subjects Men to draw *wrong Conclusions*,

sions, than of that which excites them to invent *false Principles*.

The great *Spencer*, indeed, endeavoured to dissipate this Panic, by shewing these Premisses to be the true *Key* to the REASON OF THE LAW; and the want of a sufficient *Reason* in the ceremonial and positive Part of it, was the greatest Objection that thinking Men had to the Divinity of its Original.

But all this did not yet reconcile the generality to those Premisses. It would seem as if Men had another Quarrel with them, besides the poor unlearned Fear of their leading to the Infidels Conclusion; namely, for their being simply an Adversary's Principle; and, on that Score alone, to be disputed. This is a perverse, tho' common Prejudice, that infects our whole Communication; and hath hurt Unity in the Church, and Humanity in Civil Life, as well as Peace in the Schools. For who knows not that the same unmanly Passion against things abused by an Enemy, hath made one sort of Sectaries divide from the National Church, and another reprobate the most indifferent Manners of their Country?

And it is to be observed, that till that unlucky time of the Infidels blundering upon Truth, this Principle met with a very general reception; The ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all Denominations concurring in their use of it, to illustrate the Wisdom of God's Laws, and the Truth of his Son's Interpretation of them; who hath assured us that they were given to the *Hebrews for the hardness of their Hearts*; no sort of Men sticking out but a few visionary *Jews*, besotted with the Nonsense of their *Cabbala*; who obstinately shut their Eyes against all the Light the great *Maimonides* had powered into this Enquiry.

Not



Not that I would be understood as admitting the *Premises* in the Latitude our Adversaries deliver them,

*Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.*

The human Mind, miserably weak and instable, and distracted with a vast Variety of Objects, is naturally inclined to repose itself in SYSTEM; nothing being more uneasy to us than a State of Doubt, or a View too large for our Comprehension. Hence we see, of every imaginary Fact, some or other have made an Hypothesis; of every Cloud a Castle: And the common Vice of these Castle-builders is to draw in every thing within its Precincts that they fancy may contribute to its Defence or Embellishment. We have given an Instance, in the former Volume\*, of the Folly of those who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all Arts, Laws, and Religions from the People of God: An Extravagance at length come to such a height, that if you will believe certain Writers<sup>y</sup>, the poor Heathen had neither the Grace to kneel to Prayers, nor the Wit to put their Gods under Cover till the Israelites

\* Vol. i. p. 357. edit. 2<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> See *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected*, vol. ii. edit. 2. p. 317,—327. Our Countryman Gale is for deriving all Arts and Sciences, without Exception, from the Jews. — “*Arithmetic*, he says, it is evident had its Foundation from God himself; for the first *Computation* of Time is “made by God, GEN. i. 5, &c. And as for *Navigation*, tho’ “some ascribe it to the *Phenicians*, yet it is manifest the first “*Idea* thereof was taken from *Noah’s Ark*. It is as plain that “*Geography* traduced its first Lines from the *Mosaic Description* “of the *several Plantations* of *Noah’s Posterity*.” — *Court of the Gentiles*, Part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the Man was bantering us, had he not given so sad a Proof of his being in earnest as the writing three bulky Volumes in support of these wonderful Discoveries?

taught them the way. But our wise Adversaries are even with them; and will bate no Believer an Inch in driving on an *Hypothesis*: For had not the *Egyptians*, as they give us to understand<sup>2</sup>, by great good luck enjoined *Honour to Parents*, and *restrained Theft by Punishment*, the *Jews* had been in a brave blind Condition when they came to take Possession of the Promised Land. Are they more sober in their Accounts of the *religious* Institutions of the *Hebrews*? I think not: When they pretend to prove *Circumcision* of *Egyptian* Original from the Testimony of late Writers, that neither speak to the Point; nor in this Point are in reason to be regarded if they did<sup>2</sup>. But our Friends, as

<sup>2</sup> See *Marsham's Canon Chronicus*, ed. *Franeq.* p. 177,—188.

<sup>2</sup> See *Canon Chron. Secul.* v. tit. *Circumcisio*. I decline entering into this Dispute for two Reasons. 1. Because which way soever the Question be determined, the Truth of the *Mosaic* Account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture nowhere says that *Abraham* was the first Man circumcised; nor is the prior use of this Rite amongst Men, any Argument against God's enjoining *him* to observe it. The pious Bishop *Cumberland* little thought he was diserving Religion when he followed an Interpretation of the Fragment of *Sanctioniatho*, which led him to conclude [Remarks on *Sanchon's Phœn. Hist.* p. 150.] whole Nations had practised Circumcision before *Abraham*: But I quote this great Man not as a Testimony for the Weight of that Opinion, but as an Example of that Candour of Mind and Integrity of Heart, without which the Pursuit of Truth is a vainer Employment than the Pursuit of Butterflies. A less able and less ingenuous Writer, who had not the tenth Part of this noble Author's Invention, would have had a thousand Tricks and Fetches to reconcile the first Institution of this Right in *Abraham*, to the high Antiquity of *Cronus*. But this honest Man disdained such Arts: He followed Truth; and that hath brought him out of the promiscuous Croud of System-makers, to the most distinguished Eminence in Letters. 2. The other Reason for not entering into this matter, is, because it is not my Intention to examine, (except occasionally, and to illustrate the general Principles I lay down,) any particular Question of this kind. This hath been already done. What I propose is to prove in general, that many of the positive Institutions of the *Hebrews*

we say, won't suffer us to enjoy this Triumph o'er an Adversary's Folly; they will quit Scores with them at all Hazards; and so, with just as much Ingenuity, but something more Learning, have endeavoured to prove that *the Gods of Egypt all came out of Abraham's Family*<sup>b</sup>.

But why all this Strife for or against the one or other Hypothesis? For assuredly it would no more follow, from that of our Adversaries, that the *Jewish* Religion was *false*, than from this newly revived one of our Friends, that the *Egyptian* was *true*.

It must indeed be of use to true Religion, wherever it be, to trace up things to their Original: And for that Reason alone, without any Views to Party, I shall endeavour to prove the four following Propositions.

1. That the *Egyptian* Learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the *Egyptian* Superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the *Greek* Writers, as the Honour and Opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the *Jewish* People were extremely fond of *Egyptian* Manners, and did frequently fall into *Egyptian* Superstitions: And that many of the Laws given to them by the Ministry of MOSES were instituted, partly in compliance to their Prejudices, and partly in opposition to those Superstitions.

3. That MOSES's *Egyptian* Learning, and the Laws he instituted in compliance to the People's Prejudices, and in opposition to *Egyptian* Supersti-

were enjoined in opposition to the idolatrous Customs of the *Egyptians*; and many more bearing a Conformity to those Customs, and not liable to be abused to Superstition, indulged to them, in wise Compliance to the Prejudices that long use had rendered habitual.

<sup>b</sup> See *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des Anciens Peuples*.

tions,

tions, are no reasonable Objection to the Divinity of his Mission. And,

4. That those very Circumstances are a strong Confirmation of the Divinity of it.

The Enquiry, into which the Proof of these Points will lead us, is, as we said, very necessary to our gaining a true Idea of the Nature of the *Jewish Dispensation*: As that true Idea will enable the Reader to form a right Judgment of the force of those Arguments I am preparing to bring for the Support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the Doctrine of a Future State is not to be found in, nor did make Part of the Jewish Dispensation.* But the Enquiry has still a further use. I shall employ the result of it to strengthen that general Conclusion, namely, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promised to deduce thro' the medium of this *third Proposition*: So that the Reader must not think me disposed to trifle with him, if the Enquiry I am now going upon should prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entry upon it, it will be no improper place to explain my meaning, when, in my first setting out, I promised to demonstrate the Truth of the *Jewish Revelation*, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Now had I meant by this no more than that I would argue with him on *common Principles*, I had only insulted the Reader's Understanding by an affected Expression, while I pretended to make *that* peculiar to my Defence, which is, or ought to be, a Circumstance common to all; no Dispute ever coming to a good issue, that is not carried on upon *common Principles*: Or had I meant so much by it as to imply that I would argue with the Deist on *his own false Principles*, I had then unreasonably bespoke the Reader's long Attention to a mere Argument *ad hominem*,

*hominem*, which, at best, had only proved our Adversaries in the wrong, not ourselves in the right. But my Point was, not to shew the Free-thinker a sorry Reasoner; for who wants to be convinced of that? but to demonstrate the Truth of Revelation. The only remaining Sense then, of *the Deist's own Principles*, is this, — such of them as are true, yet being generally held by the Enemies of Religion, and almost as generally rejected by the Friends of it, come, for this Reason to be termed *Deistical Principles*. Such, for instance, as this I am going upon, *the high Antiquity of the Egyptian Wisdom*; and such as that for the sake of which I go upon it, namely *the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State in the Mosaic Dispensation*. And these are the Principles by which I promise, in good time, to overturn all their Conclusions.

### S E C T. III.

THE first Proposition is, — *That the Egyptian Learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian Superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the Greek Writers as the Honour and Opprobrium of that Kingdom.*

To prove this, we shall, in the first place shew (both by *external* and *internal* Evidence) the just Pretensions which *Egypt* had to the superior Antiquity it assumed: And then examine the new Hypothesis of Sir *Isaac Newton* against that Antiquity.

It is confessed on all hands, that the *Greek Writers* concur in representing *Egypt* as one of the most ancient and powerful Monarchies in the World. As a Proof of what they deliver, we may observe, that they have given a very particular

lar Account of the Customs and Institutions, Civil and Religious, in use from the most early times of Memory: Customs and Institutions of such a nature as prove the Observers of them to be, of course, polite and powerful. — Thus stands the *Grecian* Evidence.

But to this it may be fairly replied, that these Writers are, in all respects, incompetent Witnesses, and carry such Imperfections about them as are enough to discredit any Evidence: Being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to be imposed on; so falling, as we shall see, into ill hands, they actually were so.

Their *Ignorance* may be fairly collected from their Age, and from the Authors of their Intelligence. They all lived long after the Times in question; and, tho' they received indeed, their Information from *Egypt* itself; yet, for the most part, it was not till after the entire Destruction of that ancient Empire, and when it was now become a Province, in Succession, to *Asiatic* and *European* Conquerors. — When their ancient and public Records were destroyed, and their very Learning and Genius changed to a Conformity with their *Grecian* Masters. Who would needs, at this time of day, seek Wisdom from *Egypt*, which could but furnish them with their own; tho', because they would have it so, disguised under the stately Cover of mystic Obscurity<sup>c</sup>.

Nor were their *Prejudices* less notorious. They thought themselves *Autochthones*, the original Inhabitants of the Earth, and indebted to none for any of their Advantages: But when Knowledge and Acquaintance with foreign Nations had con-

<sup>c</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. Book iii. Sect. 4.

vinced

vinced them of their Mistake ; and that, so far from owing nothing to others, they owed almost every thing to *Egypt* ; they, still true to their Vanity, now gave the Post of Honour to these, which they could no longer keep to themselves ; and complimented their new Masters with the most extravagant Antiquity. What the *Greeks* conceived out of Vain-glory, the *Egyptians* cherished to promote a *Trade*. This Country was long the *Mart* of Knowledge for the Eastern and Western World ; and as nothing so much recommends this kind of Commodity as it's Antiquity, they set it off by forged Records, that extended to a most unreasonable length of time : Accounts of which have been conveyed to us by ancient Authors, and fully confuted by the modern.—— Thus stands the Objection to the *Grecian* Evidence.—— And, tho' I have no Business to determine in this Question, the *use* I make of the *Greek* Authority not being at all affected by it, yet I must needs own that were there no Writings of higher Antiquity to confirm the *Grecian* Evidence, their Testimony would be very doubtful : But were there Writings of much higher Antiquity to contradict them, it ought to be entirely discredited.

What therefore they say of the high Antiquity of *Egypt*, unsupported by Holy Scripture, shall be constantly unemployed by me : But what Scripture seems to contradict, whether it serve the one or other Purpose, shall be entirely rejected in this Enquiry.

The unanimous Agreement of the *Greek* Writers in representing *Egypt* as the most ancient and best policied Empire in the World, is, as we say, generally known and acknowledged.

Let

Let us see then what SCRIPTURE has recorded in support of this Evidence.

I. So early as the time of *Abraham* we find a King in *Egypt* of the common Name of *Pbaraob*<sup>d</sup>; which would induce one to believe that the Civil Policy was much the same as in the times of *Joseph* and *Moses*; and how perfect it then was we shall see hereafter. — This Kingdom is represented as abounding in Corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of Famine<sup>e</sup>. — We see the Splendor of a luxurious Court, in the Princes that resided in the Monarch's Household; amongst whom (as the most thriving Trade for royal Favour) some we find to have been his Pimps of Pleasure<sup>f</sup>: — And the Presents made by *Pbaraob* to *Abraham*, appear altogether worthy of a great King<sup>g</sup>. An affair of the same kind as this of *Abraham's* with *Pbaraob*, happened to his Son *Isaac* with *Abimelech*; which will instruct us in the difference between a King of *Egypt* and a King of the *Philistines*. *Abimelech* is described without his Guards, or great Princes, as a simple particular<sup>h</sup>: So jealous and afraid of *Isaac's* growing Power, that he obliged him to depart out of his Dominions<sup>i</sup>; and, not satisfied with that, went afterwards to beg a Peace of him, and would swear him to the Observance of it<sup>k</sup>.

II. The Caravan of *Ismaelite* Merchants, going from *Gilead* to *Egypt*<sup>l</sup>, brings us to the second Scripture Period of this ancient Monarchy. And here their Cargoes of *Spicery*, *Balm*, and *Myrrh*, carried upon Camels, and their Traffic in young

<sup>d</sup> GENESIS xii. 15.      <sup>e</sup> *ŷ* 10.

<sup>f</sup> *The Princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and commended her before Pharaoh: And the Woman was taken into Pharaoh's House,*

*ŷ* 15.      <sup>g</sup> *ŷ* 16.      <sup>h</sup> Chap. xxvi. 7, 8.      <sup>i</sup> *ŷ* 16.

<sup>k</sup> *ŷ* 26, & seqq.      <sup>l</sup> Chap. xxxvii. 25.

Slaves,



Slaves<sup>m</sup>, Commodities only for a rich and luxurious People, sufficiently declare the established Power and Wealth of *Egypt*.—We find a Captain of *Pharaoh's* Guard; a chief Butler and Baker<sup>n</sup>.—In the Vestures, fine Linen, Gold Chains, and State-Chariots given to *Joseph*<sup>o</sup>, we see all the marks of Luxury and Politeness:—And in the Cities for laying up Stores and Provisions<sup>p</sup>, of good Policy and Opulence.

III. The Redemption of the *Hebrews* from their Slavery is the *third* Period of the *Egyptian* Monarchy recorded in Scripture. Here the building of *Treasure Cities*<sup>q</sup>, and the continual Employment of so vast a multitude, in only preparing Materials<sup>r</sup> for public Edifices, speak the vast Power and Luxury of the Kingdom. Here too we find a fixed and standing Militia<sup>s</sup>, (as shall be shewn hereafter,) of *Chariots*; and, what is more extraordinary, of *Cavalry*<sup>t</sup>: In which kind of military Address the *Greeks* were unskilled till long after the times of the *Trojan* War.

To this let me add, that Scripture every where throughout these three Periods, represents *Egypt* as one entire Monarchy under one single King<sup>u</sup>; a certain mark of great advances in Civil Policy and Power: All Countries, on their first Egression out of Barbarity being divided into many little States and Principalities; which as those Arts improve, were naturally brought to unite together and coalesce.

Thus circumstantially do the *Hebrew* Records support the *Grecian* Evidence, of the high Anti-

<sup>m</sup> GENESIS xxxvii. 28.      <sup>n</sup> Chap. xxxix,—xl.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. xli. v 42, 43.      <sup>p</sup> Chap. xli.

<sup>q</sup> EXOD. i. 11.      <sup>r</sup> Chap. v. v 14.      <sup>s</sup> Chap. xiv. v 7.

<sup>t</sup> v 9.      <sup>u</sup> See GEN. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55. xlvii. 20.

Ex EXOD. *passim*.

quity of *Egypt*. And it is further remarkable, that the later Writers of the Sacred Canon all confirm this concurrent Testimony, in the constant Attributes of *Antiquity* and *Wisdom*, which they bestow, on all occasions, on the *Egyptian* Nation. To give one Instance out of many, where the Prophet is denouncing God's Judgments against this People: — "Surely the Princes of *Zoan* are " *Fools*, the Counsel of the wise Counsellors of " *Pharaoh* is become *brutish*: How say ye unto " *Pharaoh*, I am the Son of the wise, the Son of " ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where are " thy wise MEN: and let them tell thee now, " and let them know what the Lord of Hosts " hath purposed upon *Egypt* \*."

But the *Greek* Writers do not content themselves to tell us in a vague and general manner of the high Antiquity and Power of *Egypt*, which was therefore little to be regarded; but support that common Opinion, of which their Books are so full, by a minute and circumstantial Account of *Institutions*, Civil and Religious, said to be observed by that People from the most early Times. *Institutions* which, in their very nature, spake a great and powerful People; and belong only to such as are so. Now these Accounts *Sacred Scripture* remarkably confirms and verifies.

I. The PRIESTHOOD being the *Primum mobile* of the *Egyptian* Policy, we shall begin with that. *Diodorus Siculus* thus describes its State and Establishment: — "The whole Country being divided " into three Parts; the first belongs to the body " of Priests; an Order in the highest Reverence " amongst their Countrymen, for their Piety to " the Gods, and their consummate Wisdom, ac-

\* ISAIAH XIX. 11, 12,

"quired by the best Education, and the closest  
 "Application to Study. With these Revenues  
 "they supply all *Egypt* with public Sacrifices;  
 "they support a number of inferior Officers, and  
 "maintain their own Families: For the *Egyptians*  
 "think it utterly unlawful to make any change in  
 "their public Worship; but that every thing  
 "should be administer'd by their Priests, in the  
 "same constant invariable manner. Nor do they  
 "hold it all decent that those, to whose Cares the  
 "Public is so much indebted, should want the  
 "common Necessaries of Life: For the Priests  
 "are constantly attached to the Person of the  
 "King, as his Coadjutors, Counsellors, and In-  
 "structors, in the most weighty Matters.— For it  
 "is not amongst them as with the *Greeks*, where  
 "one single Man or Woman exercises the Office  
 "of the Priesthood. Here a number are em-  
 "ployed in sacrificing, and other Rites of public  
 "Worship; who transmit their Profession to their  
 "Children. This Order, likewise, is exempt from  
 "all Charges and Imposts, and holds the prime  
 "Honours, under the King, in the public Admi-  
 "nistration." Of all the Colleges of the Priest-

Ἡ Τῆς ὅς χώρος ἀπάσης εἰς τέσσα μέρη διηρημένη, ἡ μὲν πρώτη  
 ἔχει μερίδα τὸ ζήτημα τῶν ἱερῶν, μεγίστης ἐλογπῆς τυγχάνουσα ὡς  
 τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ εἰς τὰς διὰς δισίβην, καὶ ἀλλ' τὸ πλεῖστον  
 ζωῶσιν τὰς ἀνδρας τῆς οὐκ παυδαίας ἐσφίερα. οὐκ ἔστι τῶν τῶν  
 προσόδων τὰς τε θυσίας ἀπάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ζωῶσιν, καὶ  
 τὰς ὑπερίτας τρέφουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν. ὅτε γὰρ τὰς  
 τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ καὶ ὡς  
 πλησίον ζωῶσιν. ὅτε τὰς πάντων προβεβλυσμένους, οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἀνακαίνων. καθόλου γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μεγίστων ὅτοι προβεβλυσμένοι  
 ζωδιαλέγουσι τῇ βασιλεῖ, ἥ μὲν σωεργοί, ἥ δὲ εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδά-  
 σκαλοι γινόμενοι. — ὅ γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ὡς τοῖς ἑλλήσιν, εἰς αἰὲρ ἡ  
 μία γυνὴ τῇ ἱερουσίᾳ παρέλκεται, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ὅτε τὰς τῇ θεῶν  
 θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀφαιρῶσι, καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς τῇ ὁμοίαν ὅ βίαν προαί-  
 ρισιν ὡς διδάσκουσιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς, καὶ δολιχόχρονοι  
 μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν ταῖς τε δέξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. Bib. Hist.  
 p. 46. St. ed.

D hood,

hood, *Herodotus* tells us, that of *HELIOPOLIS* was most famed for Wisdom and Learning<sup>a</sup>: And *Strabo* says, that in his time, very spacious Buildings yet remained there; which, as the Report ran, was formerly the chief Residence of the Priests; who cultivated the Studies of Philosophy and Astronomy<sup>a</sup>.

— Thus these three celebrated Historians; every Particular of whose Account is fully confirmed by *Moses*; who tells us, that the *Egyptian* Priests were a distinct Order in the State, and had an established landed Revenue; — that when the Famine raged so severely that the People were compelled to sell their Lands to the Crown, for Bread, the Priests still kept *theirs* unalienated, and were supplied *gratis*<sup>b</sup>. *Diodorus's* Account, which gives us the Reason of this Indulgence, is fully supported by it: For thereby we see, that not only the Reverence in which the Order was held, but the public uses of Religion, to which two thirds of their Revenues were applied, kept *Pharaoh* from attempting on their Property. Again, *Moses* confirms what *Diodorus* says of the public and high Employment of the Priests, who were privy Counsellors and Ministers of State, where speaking of the Priest of *On*<sup>c</sup>, he calls him *Choben*, which, as *J. Cocceius* shews in his Lexicon<sup>d</sup>, fig-

<sup>a</sup> Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπόλιται λέγοντες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν λογιώτατοι. lib. ii. c. 3. *Hist.* <sup>a</sup> Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ οἶκος ἱερὸς μέγας, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάστιγα γὰρ δὴ ταύτης καλοικίαν ἱερῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ τὸ παλαιόν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. *Geog.* l. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> Only the Land of the Priests bought he not: For the Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them, wherefore they sold not their Lands. *GEN.* xlvii. 22. <sup>c</sup> Chap. xvi. § 20.

<sup>d</sup> *Choben*, proprie & ex vi vocis, qui accedit ad Regem, & eum, qui summus est. Ideo explicationis ergo adjungitur tanquam etymologicæ evolutio, *Exod.* xix. 22. "Sacerdotes qui

nifies

nifies as well the Friend and privy Counsellor of the King, as a Priest; and accordingly, the *Chal. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On*. The Word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the *Egyptian* Language; the *Hebrews* having no Order of Priesthood before that instituted by MOSES. This further appears from the Name *Coes*<sup>e</sup> given to the Priests of the *Samothracian Mysteries*, plainly a Corruption of *Coen* or *Choben*. The Mysteries in general, we have shewn<sup>f</sup> to be derived from *Egypt*, and particularly those of *Ceres* or *Isis*: Now, in *Samothrace*, the Mysteries were of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, as at *Eleusis*<sup>g</sup>. Lastly, MOSES confirms *Herodotus* and *Strabo's* Account of the superior Learning and Dignity of the *Heliopolitan* College. When *Joseph* was exalted to the prime Ministry, he tells us, that *Pharaoh* married him to a Daughter of the Priest of ON<sup>h</sup>; which the *Septuagint* and *Vulgar Latin* rightly interpret *HELIOPOLIS*: That the King was then in a Disposition to do *Joseph* the utmost Honour is plain from the Circumstances of the Story; and that he principally consulted his Establishment in this Match, appears from the Account given us by these *Greek* Historians. We see, the public Administration was in the hands of the Priesthood, who would unwillingly bear a Stranger at the Head of Affairs. The bringing *Joseph* therefore into their

“accedunt ad Jehovam.”—Non, quod vox *Choben* notet *primum*, ut vult *Kimchius*, sed quod notet *primos accedentium*. — Certe in *Agypto* fuerunt tales & his alimonia a rege debebatur.

<sup>e</sup> Κοῖνς, ἱερεὺς Καθείρων. *Hesych.* <sup>f</sup> *Div. Leg.* lib. ii. Sect. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Μυστήρια ἢ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καθείροις, ὡν Μνασίας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τίτταρις δ' εἰσὶ τὴν δριμύτην, Ἀξίερος, Ἀξίονεσσα, Ἀξίονερος, Κάσμιλος. Ἀξίερος μὲν εἶναι ἡ Δημήτηρ· Ἀξίονεσσα ἢ ἡ Περσιφόνη· Ἀξίονερος ἢ ὁ Ἄδης· ὁ δὲ περσιθέωρος τίταρος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἐρμῆς εἶναι, ὡς ἰσορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. *Schol. in Apoll. Argon.* l. i. § 917. <sup>h</sup> GEN. xlv. 20.

Family and Order<sup>i</sup>, which was hereditary, was the best Expedient to allay their Envy. And this *Pharaoh* did most effectually, by marrying him into that Cast which was then of greatest Name and Credit amongst them.

I will only observe, that this superior Nobility of the Priests of *On*, seems to have been chiefly owing to their higher Antiquity. *Heliopolis*, or the *City of the Sun*, was the Place where that Luminary was principally adored; and certainly, from the most early Times: For *Diodorus* tells us, that *the first Gods of Egypt were the Sun and Moon*<sup>k</sup>; the Truth of which, all this laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we suppose, as is very reasonable, that the first *established* Priests in *Egypt*, were those dedicated to the *Sun* at *On*, we shall not be at a Loss to account for their Titles of Nobility. *Strabo* says they were much given to Astronomy; and this too we can easily believe: For what more likely than that they should be

<sup>i</sup> *Chæremón*, who, as we are told by *Josephus*, wrote the History of *Egypt*, calls *Moses* and *Joseph* Scribes, and *Joseph* a sacred Scribe, *ἡγούμενος δ' αὐτῶν γραμματεὺς Μωϋσῶν τε καὶ ἸΩΣΗΠΟΝ, καὶ τῶν ἱερογραμματέων*, *cont. Ap. lib. i.* It is true, the Historian has confounded times, in making *Joseph* contemporary with *Moses*: But this was a common Mistake amongst the Pagans. *Justin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius* calls *Moses* the Son of *Joseph*—*Filius ejus* [*Joseph*] *Moses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hereditatem, &c. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.* Those learned Men therefore are mistaken, who, for this reason, would have it that *Chæremón*, by *Joseph* meant *Joshua*. Besides, the superior Title here given to *Joseph* shews plainly we are to understand the Patriarch, and not the Companion of *Moses*: For tho' it appears from Scripture that *Joseph* and *Moses* were related to, and educated by the *Egyptian* Priesthood, yet we have not the least reason to think that *Joshua* had ever any Concern with them; being held with the rest of his Brethren in a State of Servitude, remote from that Education, which a peculiar Accident gave *Moses* the Advantage of.

<sup>k</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 467. edit. 2<sup>d</sup>.

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fond<sup>1</sup> of the Study of that System, over which their God presided, not only in a *moral*, but in a *natural* Capacity? I say presided: For whether they received the Doctrine from original Tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, as is more likely<sup>m</sup>, to do Honour to this their visible God, by giving him the Station of Pre-eminence, it is remarkable that they taught the Sun was in the Centre of its System, and that all the other Bodies moved round it in perpetual Revolutions. This noble Theory came, with the rest of the *Egyptian* Learning into *Greece*; being brought thither by *Pythagoras*, who, it is remarkable, received it from *Ænuphis*, a Priest of *Heliopolis*<sup>n</sup>; and, after having given the most distinguished Lustre to his School, it sunk into Obscurity, and suffered

<sup>1</sup> Hence we may collect how ill grounded that Opinion is of *Eupolemus* and other Authors, ancient and modern, who imagine that *Abraham* first taught the Egyptians *Astrology*. And indeed the contending for this Original of the Sciences seems to contradict another Argument much in use amongst Divines, and deservedly so; which answers the Objection of Infidels against the Authority of the Bible, from several Inaccuracies in Science to be met with in sacred History, by observing it was not God's Intention in revealing himself to Mankind, to instruct them in the Sciences.

<sup>m</sup> See the first Volume of the *Div. Leg.* p. 421. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit.

<sup>n</sup> Εὐδόξον μὲν ἐν Χονούβιός φησι Μενέτις ἀγαῶσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ Σόλχιτι Σαῖται· ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνέφους ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ, *Plut. de Is. & Osir.* p. 632. St. ed. Here we see each Sage went for what he wanted, to the proper Mart of Science: For not only *Pythagoras* studied *Astronomy* at *Heliopolis*, where it was professed with the greatest Eclat; but *Eudoxus* got his *Geometry* at *Memphis*, whose Priests were the most profound Mathematicians; and *Solon* was instructed in *civil Wisdom* at *Sais*, whose Patron Deity being *Minerva* (as we are told by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*) shews Politics to have been there in most request: And this doubtless was the Reason why *Pythagoras*, who, during his long abode in *Egypt*, went thro' all their Schools, chose *Minerva* for his Patron of Politics. See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. Book ii. Sect. 2, 3.

a total Eclipse throughout a long Succession of learned and unlearned Ages; till these times resumed its ancient Splendor, and immoveably fixed it on the most unerring Principles of Science.

II. The next observable Circumstance of Consent between the Greek Historians and MOSES, is in their Accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expressly tells us, that the Egyptians held it a Prophanation to sacrifice any Kind of Cattle except Swine, Bulls, clean Calves, and Geese<sup>o</sup>; and, in another Place, that Heifers, Rams, and Goats were esteemed sacred<sup>p</sup>; either in this, or in the other Province. Now here again we are informed by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had MOSES sacrifice to God, in the Land, according to his own Family Rites, the Prophet replied, — *It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: Lo shall we sacrifice the Abomination of the Egyptians before their Eyes, and will they not stone us?* But if Herodotus said true of the early Superstition of Egypt, the Israelites, we see, could not avoid sacrificing the Abomination of the Egyptians. And with what mortal Hatred and Revenge they pursued such imaginary Impieties,

<sup>o</sup> Τοῖσι γὰρ ἐδὲ κτήνα ὅση θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὧν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἀν καθαρῇ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, πῶς ἀν ἔτοι ἀνθρώπος θύειν; l. ii. c. 45. P — τὰς βῆς τὰς θηλείας Αἰγυπτίῳι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβουσιν) πρὸς ἁπάντων πάντων μάστιγα μακρῶν. — cap. xlii. — Ὅσοι μὲν δὲ Διὸς Θεοδαίῳ ἰσθν, ἢ νομῶν ἢ Θεοδαίῳ ἐστὶ, ἔτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες οἷον ἀπεχόρδοι, αἶγας θύουσιν. Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐτὰς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγυπτίῳι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσίδος τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὴν δὲ Διόνυσον ἢ) λέγουσι. τὰς τε ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι ἢ ἢ Μενδηλὸς ἔκλινται ἰσθν, ἢ νομῶν ἢ Μενδησίῳ ἐστὶ, ἔτοι ἢ αἶγας ἀπεχόρδοι, οἷς θύουσιν. cap. xlii. Colunt [Ægyptii] effigies multorum animalium, atque ipsa magis animalia; sed alii alia: adeo ut quædam eorum, etiam per imprudentiam, interemisse, capitale sit. Pomp. Mela de Situ Orb. lib i. cap. ix.

γ Exop. viii. 26.

may



may be seen in the first Volume of our Work, where we have given some Account of the Original of that partial animal Worship here mentioned by *Herodotus*†.

III. To come now to the CIVIL ARTS of *Egypt*. — Concerning their *Practice of Physic*, *Herodotus* says, *that it was divided amongst the Faculty in this manner*, — “ Every distinct Distemper hath its  
“ own Physician, who confines himself to the Study and Cure of that, and meddles with no other: So that all Places are crouded with Physicians: For one Class hath the Care of the  
“ Eyes, another of the Head, another of the Teeth, another of the Belly, and another of occult Distempers.” After this, we shall no longer think it strange that *Joseph*’s household Physicians are represented as a Number. — And *Joseph* commanded his Servants the Physicians to embalm his Father: And the Physicians embalmed *Israel*†. A body of these Domestics would appear an extravagant Piece of State, even in a first Minister. But now, we see, it could not be otherwise, where each Distemper had its proper Physician: So that every great Family, as well as City, must needs, as *Herodotus* says, swarm with the Faculty: And a more convincing Instance of the Grandeur, Luxury, and Politeness of a People, cannot, I think, be well given. But indeed it was *this* for which the *Egyptian* Nation was peculiarly distinguished, not only by the earliest *Greek* Writers (as we shall see hereafter) but likewise by the holy Prophets. There is a remarkable Passage in *Jeremiah*, where,

† P. 282. & seq. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit.    ἡ δὲ ἰατρικὴ καὶ τὰς σφί δίδασκαί· μίης νέου ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐστὶ, καὶ ἂν πλείονων· πάντα δ’ ἡν-  
τῶν ἐστὶ πλεία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἰατρὸν καλεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς.  
οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, καὶ τοῦ σώματος· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανῶν νέσων. lib. ii  
c. 84.    † GEN. i. 2.

foretelling the Overthrow of *Pharaoh's Army at Euphrates*, he describes *Egypt* by this distinguishing Character of her Skill in Physic, *Go up into Gilead, and take Balm, O Virgin the Daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou USE MANY MEDICINES: for thou shalt not be cured*'. The Prophet delights in this Kind of Imagery, which figures a People under some characteristic Circumstance: As again in this very Chapter, *Egypt*, says he, *is like a FAIR HEIFER but Destruction cometh: It cometh from the North. Also her hired Men are in the midst of her like FATTED BULLOCKS, for they also are turned back and are fled away together*"'. For the Worship of *Isis* and *Osiris*, under a Cow and a Bull, was the most celebrated in all the *Egyptian* Ritual. And again, *Who is he that cometh up as a Flood, whose Waters are moved as the Rivers? Egypt riseth up like a FLOOD, and his Waters are moved like the Rivers*\*, &c. alluding to the Nile, the Parent of its Fertility and Abundance.

But a learned Writer, frighten'd with the common Panic of *the high Antiquity of Egypt*, will endeavour to shew the *Art of Medicine* of much later Original. And to make room for his Hypothesis, he contrives to explain away this direct Testimony of *Herodotus*, by a very uncommon Piece of Criticism. This is the Substance of his Argument, and in his own Words: — “ We read “ of the *Egyptian* Physicians in the Days of *Joseph*; and *Diodorus* represents them as an Order “ of Men not only very ancient in *Egypt*, but as “ having a full Employment in continually giving “ Physic to the People, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into Distempers. *Herodotus* “ says much the same thing, and represents the

† JEREM. xlv. 11.

“ J 20, 21.

“ J 7, 8.

“ ancient *Egyptians* as living under a continual  
“ Course of Physic, undergoing so rough a Regi-  
“ men for three Days together, every Month,  
“ that I cannot but suspect some Mistake, both  
“ in him, and *Diodorus's* Account of them in this  
“ Particular. *Herodotus* allows them to have li-  
“ ved in a favourable Climate, and to have been  
“ a healthy People, which seems hardly consistent  
“ with so much medicinal Discipline as he ima-  
“ gined them to go through, almost without In-  
“ terruption. The first mention we have of Phy-  
“ sicians in the sacred Pages shews indeed that  
“ there was such a Profession in *Egypt* in *Joseph's*  
“ Time, and *Jacob* was their Patient; but their  
“ Employment was to embalm him after he was  
“ dead; we do not read that any Care was taken  
“ to give him Physic whilst alive; which inclines  
“ me to suspect that the *Egyptians* had no Practice  
“ for the Cure of the Diseases of a sick Bed in  
“ these Days; We read of no sick Persons in the  
“ early Ages. The Diseases of *Egypt*, which the  
“ *Israelites* had been afraid of, were such as they  
“ had no Cure for; and any other Sicknesses were  
“ then so little known, that they had no Names  
“ for them. — An early Death was so unusual,  
“ that it was generally remarked to be a Punish-  
“ ment for some extraordinary Wickedness. *Mo-*  
“ *ses* informs us that the Physicians embalmed *Ja-*  
“ *cob*; many of them were employed in the Of-  
“ fice, and many Days Time was necessary for the  
“ Performance, and different Persons performed  
“ different Parts of it, some being concerned in  
“ the Care of one Part of the Body, and some of  
“ the other: And I imagine this manner of Pra-  
“ ctice occasioned *Herodotus* to hint that the *Egyp-*  
“ *tians* had a different Physician for every Distem-  
“ per, or rather, as his subsequent Words express,  
“ for

“ for each different Part of the Body : For so indeed they had, not to cure the Diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. These, I imagine, were the Offices of the *Egyptian* Physicians in the early Days. They were an Order of the Ministers of Religion. The Art of curing Distempers or Diseases was not yet attempted. — We may be sure the Physicians practised only Surgery untill after *Homer’s* Time, — For we read in him, that their whole Art consisted in extracting Arrows, healing Wounds, and preparing Anodynes. — In the Days of *Pythagoras* the Learned began to form Rules of Diet for the Preservation of Health, and to prescribe in this Point to sick Persons, in order to assist towards their Recovery. And in this, *Strabo* tells us, consisted the Practice of the ancient *Indian* Physicians. They endeavoured to cure Distempers by a Diet-Regimen, but they gave no Physic. *Hippocrates* — began the Practice of visiting sick-bed Patients, and prescribed Medicines with Success, for their Distempers. This I think was the Progress of Physic. — *And it must evidently appear from it, that the Egyptians could have no such Physicians in the Days of Moses, as Diodorus and Herodotus seem to suppose.*” — So far this learned Writer. But if now I make it appear, that the very contrary of every thing he hath here advanced, is the Truth ; I shall hope, that what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, confirmed by Scripture, do not seem to suppose, but directly and circumstantially affirm, may be, for once, admitted as a Fact.

*1 The Sacred and Profane History of the World connected,*  
vol. ii. ed. 2. p. 359, 360, 361, 364, ——— 367.

He

He tells us first, “ that *Diodorus* represents the “ *Egyptian* Physicians as administering Physic to “ the People in the early Times, *not to cure, but* “ *to prevent their falling into Distempers.*” One would conclude, from his Manner of Expression, that the Historian had said they did not administer to the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives one the Idea of a superstitious Kind of Practice, by Charms and Amulets: And so indeed the learned Writer would be willing we should think it. *I should imagine*, says he, *that their ancient Prescriptions which Diodorus and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious Purifications*<sup>2</sup>. Let *Diodorus* then speak for himself: “ They prevent Distempers, says he, “ and keep the Body in Health by refrigerating and laxative Medicines; by Abstinence “ and Emetics; sometimes in a daily Regimen, “ sometimes with an Intermission every three or “ four Days: For they hold a Superfluity in all “ Food, and that it is the Original of Distempers: “ So that the above mentioned Regimen removes “ the Cause, and greatly contributes to preserve “ the Body in a State of Health<sup>2</sup>.” Here we see a very rational *Theory*, and expert and able *Practice*. This prescribing for *Prevention* of Distempers, being, as amongst us, the Result of the Physicians thorough Knowledge of his Art: For the Regimen we see was intermitted or continued according to the Habit and Constitution of the Patient.

<sup>2</sup> p. 361.    <sup>2</sup> Τὰς δὲ νόσους περικαταλαμβανόμενοι διεσπένδουσιν τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ πόσιμοις τισὶ καθαρίσιν, καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμίτοις, οὕτως μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, οὕτως δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἡμέρας ἀφαιρῶντες. φασὶ γὰρ, πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, τὸ πλεονεῖν πικρὸν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰς νόσους· ὥς δὲ περιηρηρῶν διεσπένδουσιν ἀναρῶσαν τὰς δόχας τῶν νόσων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξουθενώσας τὴν νόσον. *Bibl. l. i. p. 52.*

*But*

*But the Egyptians being a healthy People, and living under a favourable Climate, could not have Occasion,* says the learned Writer, *for so much Physic*; therefore he will suspect their Accounts. I have observed that these Accounts are a Demonstration of that Grandeur, Luxury, and Politeness, which so many other Circumstances concur to make us credit. Now a too great Repletion, the Effects of a luxurious Diet, would certainly find Employment for the whole Tribe of Evacuants, as we may see by the various Experience of our own Times, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Clime and Constitution. And let me observe, what seems to be decisive in this Question, that the very Invention of this Principle of the *Egyptian* Physic, that *all Distempers arose from a too great Repletion*, fully evinces them to be a luxurious People: For a Nation accustomed to a simple and parsimonious Diet could never have afforded Observations to build such a Theory upon.

*It is true, he owns, we hear of Physicians in Joseph's Family, who embalmed his Father Jacob, but we do not read they gave him any Physic while alive.*—Nor do we read that Jacob had any other Distemper but *old Age*; and I suppose Hippocrates himself would scarce have tampered with that.—*But we read of no sick Persons in the early Ages.* Now a plain Man would have thought this a good Reason why we read of no Medicines administered. Tho' no Man who considers the Nature of Scripture History, will think this any Proof of there being *no sick Persons in those early Ages.*—But further, *the Diseases of Egypt which the Israelites had been afraid of, were such as they had no Cure for,* DEUT. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low Estate of Medicine in these early Times. One would reasonably suppose the Authority here quoted,

quoted, to support this Observation, had informed us that these were *natural Diseases* which submitted not to the rude Practice of that Time. But we are surprized to find that they are *supernatural Punishments* which the Prophet is here denouncing in case of Disobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own Purpose, in suffering these to be treatable by the common Rules of Art: — “ But “ it shall come to pass if thou wilt not hearken to “ the Voice of the Lord thy God, — The Lord “ will smite thee with the Botch of *Egypt* &c. “ whereof thou canst not be healed <sup>b</sup>.” That very *Botch* or *Boyl* which God had, in their Behalf, miraculously inflicted on the *Egyptians* by the Ministry of this Prophet. — *And all other Sickneses*, this learned Writer says, *were then so little known, that they had no Name for them.* For which we are referred to the following Words of the same Denunciation, “ Also every Sicknes and every “ Plague which is not written in the Book of this “ Law, them will the Lord bring upon thee ’till “ thou be destroyed <sup>c</sup>.” This seems to be making the Law of MOSES a Kind of *Dispensatory*, that virtually intimates every Disease to be unknown, which is unmentioned. — And still further, *An early Death*, says he, *was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a Punishment for some Wickedness*: And for this we are sent to the xxxviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter of *Genesis*. — It seems then it was the *Rarity* of the Fact that made Men think the *Evil* a *Punishment*. ’Till now I imagined it was the Sense of their being under an extraordinary Providence: And I think this very Book as plainly represents the Patriarchs to be so, as the following Books do their Posterity; and I hope,

<sup>b</sup> DEUT. xxviii. 15, 27.      <sup>c</sup> y 61.

e'er long, to prove these *Representations* true: If then we hear in Scripture of little Sickness but what is delivered as the Effect of Divine Vengeance, no Believer, I persuade myself, will ascribe that Opinion to Ignorance, Superstition, or an unusual Appearance, tho' Pagan Writers were indeed accustomed to argue in that Manner<sup>d</sup>, but own it the necessary Consequence of an *extraordinary Providence*. The Truth is, Diseases were then common in the World, at large, as now: But, amongst the People of God, the Infliction of them, or Exemption from them, made Part of the *Sanction* of that Dispensation under which they lived; — "Ye shall serve the Lord your God, says MoSES, "and he shall bless thy Bread and "thy Water, and I will take SICKNESS away from "the midst of thee<sup>e</sup>." And again, "Thou shalt "be blessed above all People,— and the Lord will "take away from thee all SICKNESS<sup>f</sup>."

The learned Writer goes on: — *The Physicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the Office, and many Days time was necessary for the Performance, and different Persons performed different Parts of it, some being concerned in the Care of one Part of the Body, and some of the other.* — This Account is taken from *Diodorus*: How the latter Part came in, or how it can be true, unless the Body were cut in Pieces to be embalmed, is not easy to conceive: But we know it was embalmed *whole*; and that *Diodorus* says nothing of *some being concerned in the Care of one Part of the Body, and some of the other*. His plain, intelligible Account is this: — That diffe-

<sup>d</sup> Eodem auctore [Homero] disci potest, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos esse; & ab iisdem opem posci solitam. *Celsus de Medicina* lib. i. *Præf.*

<sup>e</sup> Exod. xxiii. 25. <sup>f</sup> Deut. vii. 14, 15.



rent Persons performed different Parts of the Operation, one *marked* the Place for cutting, another *cut* it, a third *drew out the Entrails*, a fourth *salted* it, a fifth *washed* it, and a sixth *embalmed* it.— But our learned Author's *Addition* to the Account seems for the Sake of introducing the extraordinary Criticism that follows.

*And I imagine*, says he, *this Manner of Practice occasioned Herodotus to HINT that the Egyptians had a different Physician for every Distemper, or rather, as the subsequent Words express, for each different Part of the Body: For so indeed they had, not to cure the Diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.*— What he means by *Herodotus's hinting* I cannot tell: For had the Historian been to give in his Evidence into a Court of Justice it is impossible he should have delivered himself with more Precision. Hear it over again: “Every distinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΟΣ] hath its own  
“ Physician, who confines himself to the Study  
“ and Cure of that, and meddles with no other;  
“ so that all Places are crowded with Physicians:  
“ For one Class hath the Care of the Eyes, another of the Head, another of the Teeth, another of the Belly, and another of occult DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ.”] But for all this, by every Distemper we must understand, it seems, *each Part of a dead Body*: Death, indeed, has been often called a *Remedy*, but never a *Disease* 'till now. — But the *subsequent Words*, he says, *lead us to this Sense.* The Reader will suspect by this, that I had not given him the whole of the Historian's Account of the *Egyptian* Physicians and their Practice; but he will be mistaken: The *subsequent Words*, whereby our Author would support so extraordinary an Interpretation, are the Beginning of a new Chapter about *Funeral Rites*:—

*As to their Mournings for the Dead, and Funeral Rites, they are of this Kind, &c.* Now because *Herodotus* speaks next of their *Obsequies*, which, methinks, was methodical enough, after his Account of their *Physicians*, the learned Writer would have the foregoing Chapter an Anticipation of the following; and the Historian to treat of his Subject before he comes to it. — He goes on: — *For so indeed they had [i. e. a different Physician for each different Part of the Body] not to cure the Diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.* — How comes he to know this? Doth *Scripture* inform him that they had a different Physician for each different Part of a dead Body? No. None but the *Greek Writers* say any thing like this. But why will he depend so much upon *them* in their Account of Funeral Rites, and so little in their Account of Physicians? *Scripture*, which says they used *embalming*, and had many *Physicians*, is equally favourable to both Accounts: Or it may be, one is in itself more credible than the other. It is so; but it is that *one* which tells us they had a *different Physician to every different Distemper*; for we see an admirable use in this, it being the best, nay perhaps the only Expedient for perfecting the Art of Physic. On the other hand, what is said of the *several Parts assigned to several Men, in the Operation of embalming*, appears, at first View, extravagant and superstitious. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible, but then, which is remarkable, it is only by admitting the other Account of the *Egyptian Practice of Physic*, which the learned Writer hath rejected: For when each Disorder of the Body had a several Physician, it was natural, it was necessary to inspect the dead Carcass, each

ἢ θεῶν ἢ κατὰ φύσιν, εἰς αἶδε, &c. l. ii. c. 85.

the

the Part to which his Practice was confined; and *these*, at the same Time being the Embalmers, every Interrment required a number, and their Work to be divided in such a manner as best suited the end of their Inspection. It is true, subsequent Superstitions introduced several Practices, in the Division of this Task amongst the Operators, which had no relation to the primitive Design.

*These I imagine*, concludes the learned Writer, *were the Offices of the Egyptian Physicians, in the early Days; they were an Order of the Ministers of Religion.* — *I imagine*, says he; a Phrase that comes often over in his learned Dissertation; and, indeed, it is hard to say what a Maker or a Mender of Hypotheses cannot *imagine*. Here he employs some Pages<sup>h</sup> to prove the *Egyptian Physicians* to be an Order of *Religious*; and the whole Argument turns upon this, that their Practice was intermixed with *Superstitions*; a Circumstance that hath attended Medicine thro' all its Stages, and shall be accounted for in the Progress of this Enquiry. — But their Office of embalming is likewise much insisted on: For this being Part of the *Egyptian* Funeral Rites, and Funeral Rites being Part of their Religion, the Consequence is, that these were *religious* Ministers. The Physicians had indeed the Care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wise Designation, if ever there was any: For, *first*, it enabled the Physician to instruct himself in the Causes of the ἀφανέων Νόσων, the *occult Diseases*; and *secondly*, to improve his Knowledge in *Anatomy*. *Pliny* expressly says, it was the Custom of their Kings to cause dead Bodies to be dissected, to find out the Origin

<sup>h</sup> P. 361, — 364.

and Nature of Diseases; of which he gives a particular Instance<sup>i</sup>: And *Syncellus* from *Manetho* relates that Books of Anatomy were wrote in the Reign of the second King of the *Thinites*. — But to make their Employment, in a sacred Rite, an Argument of their being an Order of Religious, would be just as conclusive as to make the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, for their administering *Extreme Unction*, an Order of Physicians. But tho' the learned Writer's Arguments be thus defective, yet it is very true what he says, these Physicians were indeed an *Order of the Ministers of Religion*; which, tho' it makes nothing for his Point, against the early Practice of Physic in *Egypt*, I shall now shew by better Arguments than Imaginations, the Testimonies of ancient Writers. I say it makes not for his Point, because his Argument is founded on this Paralogism, *That if the Men in question were an Order of the Ministers of Religion, then consequently they were not Physicians*: Now from these Testimonies it will be seen, that tho' they were properly *Ministers of Religion*, they were likewise as properly *Physicians*. — In the most early Times of the *Egyptian* Monarchy there was no accurate *Separation of Wisdom*<sup>k</sup> into its distinct branches of Science. The Scholiast on *Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus* expressly tells us that their ancient Writings did not treat separately of *Medicine*, *Astrology*, and *Religion*, but of all these together<sup>l</sup>:

<sup>i</sup> — Crudos [raphanos] Medici suadent ad colligenda acria viscerum dandos cum sale jejunis esse, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt & præcordiis necessarium hunc succum: quando phthisin cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuisse depelli compertum sit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. cap. 5.      <sup>k</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 421.

<sup>l</sup> Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι σὺν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνίγαζον.

And

And *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, that of forty two Books of *Mercury*, which were the Bible of the *Egyptians*, six and thirty contained all their Philosophy, and were to be well studied by the several Orders of the Priesthood, which he before mentions; the other six, which related entirely to Physic, belonged to the *πασοφόροι*, i. e. those who wore the Cloak<sup>m</sup>; and these *πασοφόροι*, as in another Place he tells us, were an Order of the Ministers of Religion<sup>n</sup>. By Scripture indeed the Art of Physic appears to have been a *separate* Profession in *Joseph's* Family, unless we can suppose him to have gone into the *Egyptian* Idolatries: So again in *Greece*, *Physic* being brought thither from *Egypt*, it went, during the first Ages, in Partnership with *Philosophy*; tho' the *Separation* was made long before the Time *Celsus* assigns for it°, as we shall see presently. Thus it appears that these Men were properly both *Priests* and *Physicians*, not unlike the Monk and Friar Physicians of the late barbarous Ages preceding the Revival of Learning.

Our Author now proceeds to the *General History* of Physic: Let us see if he be more lucky in his Imaginations here. *We may be sure*, says he, *the Physicians practised only Surgery 'till after Homer's*

<sup>m</sup> — δύο μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρσέκοντι αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ ἔργῳ γυγίνασι βιβλίοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λς', τὰ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσθενησας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ περὶ ἐξημέρου· ἐμμανθάνουσιν· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἑξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἰατρικὰς ἔσας, &c. — l. vi. Str.

<sup>n</sup> — ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἢ τις ἀλλοτρίῳ ἰεραποποιέῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν τέμνην, σεμνὸν δεδορκώς, &c. — *Ped.* l. iii. c. 2. From this Passage we discover that it was an inferior Order of the Priesthood which practised Physic, for such were those who sacrificed.

<sup>o</sup> Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria dignis ab studio sapientiæ disciplinam hanc separavit. *De Med.* l. i. *Præf.* He adds, we see, to save his Credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis*; taking it for granted that those who were not remembered, were not worth remembering.

*Time.* — What must we say then to the Story of *Melampus* <sup>p</sup>, who learnt the Art of *Physic* and *Divination* in *Egypt* <sup>q</sup>, and who cured *Prætus's* Daughters of an atrabilaire Disorder with *Hellebore*, a hundred and fifty Years before the *Argonautic Expedition*? But why not 'till after the Time of *Homer*, who wrote not of his own Times, but of the *Trojan*, near three hundred Years before? and this in a kind of Work which requires Decorum, and will not suffer a Mixture of later or foreign Manners to be brought into the Scene. The learned Writer should therefore at least have said 'till after the *Trojan Times*. But how is even this supported? Why, we read in him that their whole Art consisted in extracting Arrows, healing Wounds, and preparing Anodynes; and this where *Idomeneus* says to *Nestor*, That one Physician is worth a many other Men, for extracting Arrows, and applying Lenitives to the Wound.

<sup>r</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. Edit. 2<sup>d</sup>. p. 361.

<sup>q</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* lib. i. says that *Melampus* was in the Number of those Civilizers of *Greece* who went to fit themselves for that Employment, into *Egypt*: And as *Orpheus* proceeded thence a *Legislator* and *Philosopher*; so *Melampus*, whose bent lay another Way, commenced *Physician* and *Diviner*; those two Arts being, as we have said, professed together in *Egypt*. As this *Greek* went to *Egypt* to be instructed in his Craft, so we meet with an *Egyptian* who went to practise the very same Trade in *Greece*.

Απὶς γὰρ ἔλθων ἐν πόλει Ναυπακτίας,  
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ χθόνα  
Τῷ δ' ἐκκαθαίρει πυδάλων βρογχοφθόρων.

*Æsch.* *Ικετ.* p. 316. *St. ed.*

As to what is said of his being the Son of *Apollo*, we must understand it in the Sense of *Homer*, where he speaks thus of the *Egyptian* Physicians:

ΙΗΤΡΟΣ ὃ ἕκαστος ἐπισάμβρος περὶ πάντων  
Ἀνθρώπων· ἢ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΘΟΝΟΣ Εἰσι ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

Ἱητροὶς

Ἰητροὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνιάζοντι ἄλλων,  
 Ἰὲς τ' ἐκλάμηνειν, ὅππῃ τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν<sup>r</sup>.

*Homer's* Speakers never talk impertinently. *Idomeneus* is shewing the Use of a Physician in an Army, which surely consists in healing Wounds. The Topic then was properly chosen, and enforced with Advantage; for many will allow the Physician to be worth a Number of others in this Branch of his Art, who will not so readily own it in the other. *Homer* therefore has shewn great Judgment in this Management; and had he spoken of the Use of a Physician in a peaceable City, he had, doubtless, placed it in the Art of curing Distempers: And this is no Imagination; for we shall see presently that he has in fact done so. In the mean time let me ask, what is here of the least Intimation that the whole Art consisted in extracting Arrows, and applying Anodynes? But *Pliny* says so<sup>s</sup>, who thus interprets *Homer*. What then, is not *Homer* still remaining; and cannot we see, without *Pliny*, what Inference the Rules of Logic authorise us to draw from the Poet's Words? The general Humour of Antiquity, which was strangely superstitious with regard to this Father of the Poets<sup>t</sup>, may be some

<sup>r</sup> *Il.* xi. v. 514, 515.    <sup>s</sup> *Medicina* — *Trojanis* temporibus clara — vulnere tamen duntaxat remediis. *Nat. Hist.* l. xxix. cap. 1. *Celsus* too talks in the same Strain: — Quos tamen *Homerus* non in pestilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attulisse auxilii, sed vulneribus tantummodo ferro & medicamentis mederi solitos esse proposuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ solas ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas. *De Medicina*, lib. i. *Præf.*

<sup>t</sup> — *Homerum* poetam multifidum, vel potius cunctarum rerum adprime peritum. — And again: — Ut omnis vetustatis certissimus auctor *Homerus* docet. This was said by *Apuleius*, a very celebrated Platonic Philosopher, in a juridical Defence of himself before a Proconsul of *Africa*.

Excuse for *Pliny* in concluding so much from his Silence; for *Homer* was their Bible; and whatsoever was not read therein, nor could be proved thereby, passed with the Generality for *Apocryphal*. But let us, whose Veneration for *Homer* rises not to Idolatry, fairly examine the Nature of his first great Work: This being an entire Scene of War and Slaughter, gave him frequent Occasion to take Notice of *outward Applications*, but none of *internal Remedies*; except in the History of the Pestilence; which being believed to come in Punishment, from the Gods, was supposed to submit to nothing but religious Attonements: Not to say that it was the *Chirurgical* Part of healing only that could be mentioned with sufficient Dignity. The *Greeks* were large Feeders, and violent Railers; for which Excesses, I make no Question but *Machaon*, during the ten Years Siege, administered many a sound *Emetic* and *Cathartic*: But these were no proper Ornaments for an Epic Poem. — I said his Subject did not give him Occasion to mention *inward Applications*, nor was this said evasively, as we shall now shew, from his second Poem, of a more peaceable turn; which, admitting the Mention of that other Part of the Art of Physic, the Use of internal Medicines, he has therefore spoke in its Praise: *Helen* is brought in giving *Telemachus* a Preparation of Opium; which, the Poet tells us, she had from *Polydamna*, the Wife of *Thon* the *Egyptian*, whose fruitful Country abounded with medicinal Drugs, many of which were salubrious, and many baneful; whence the Physicians of that Land being sprung from *Pæon*, were more skilful than the rest of Mankind.

Tonia



Τοῦα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε Φάρμακα μελίσσινα,  
 Ἐοθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶν· ὡς δ' αἰκοῖτις  
 Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρε ζείδωρ· ἄρεα  
 Φάρμακα, ποικίλ' μὲν ἰοθλὰ μεμίσσιν' αἶμα, ποικίλ' δ' λυγρὰ.  
 Ἰήρεός δ' ἕκαστος ὀππιάμην· πρὸ πάντων  
 Ἀνθρώπων· ἧ δ' Παιήονός εἰσι γνέθλης·.

Here then is an exprefs Testimony for the *Egyptian* Physicians, of much earlier Times than *Homer*, practising more than Surgery; which was the Point to be proved.

Our Author goes on: *In the Days of Pythagoras the Learned began to form Rules of Diet for the Preservation of Health, and to prescribe in this Point to sick Persons.* This is founded on the Rules of Diet observed in the *Pythagoric School*. There seems to be something odly perverse in the learned Writer's way of arguing; — *before*, the *Egyptian* Regimen, tho' expressly delivered by the *Greek Writers* as a physical one, yet, by reason of some Superstitions in it, our Author would have to be a religious Observance; *here*, the *Pythagoric* Regimen, tho' generally represented, nay even by *Jamblichus* himself, as a superstitious Practice, yet, by reason of its Healthfulness, he will have to be a Course of Physic.

He proceeds: — *Hippocrates began the Practice of visiting sick-bed Patients, and prescribed Medicines with Success for their Distempers.* For which *Pliny* is again quoted; who does indeed call him *the Founder of the Clinic Sect*: But it is amazing he should do so; since *Hippocrates* himself, in numerous Places of his Writings has inform'd us that it was quite otherwise. His Tract *De Dieta in Acutis* begins in this manner: “Those who have col-

† *Odyss.* lib. iv. † 227, & seq.

“ lected what we call the CNIDIAN SENTENCES,  
 “ have accurately enough registered the various  
 “ Symptoms in the several Distempers, with the  
 “ Causes of some of them: Thus far might be  
 “ well performed by a Writer who was no Physi-  
 “ cian, if so be he carefully examined each Pa-  
 “ tient about his several Affections. But what a  
 “ Physician should previously be well instructed  
 “ in, and what he cannot learn from his Patient,  
 “ that, for the most part, is omitted in this Work;  
 “ some things in this place, others in that; several  
 “ of which are very useful to be known in the  
 “ Art of judging by Signs. As to what is said  
 “ of judging by Signs, or how the Cure should  
 “ be attempted, I think very differently from them.  
 “ And it is not in this Particular only that they  
 “ have not my good Word: I as little approve  
 “ their Practice in using so small a Number of  
 “ Druggs; for the greatest Part they mention,  
 “ except in acute Distempers, are Purgatives, and  
 “ Whey, and Milk for the time: Indeed, were  
 “ these Medicines proper for the Distempers to  
 “ which they are applied, I should think them  
 “ deserving of double Honour, for being able to  
 “ work their end with so few Materials. But this  
 “ I do not apprehend to be the Case: However,  
 “ those who have since revised and new model’d  
 “ these *Sentences*, have shewn much more of the  
 “ Physician in their Prescriptions <sup>w</sup>.” From this

<sup>w</sup> Οἱ ξυγγραφάντες τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλομύθας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα  
 μὴ πάχουσιν οἱ κάμωνες ἐν ἐκάστοις τῶν νοσημάτων, ὁρθῶς ἔγραψαν,  
 καὶ ὁκοῖως ἔνια ἀπέβαιεν αὐτέων· καὶ ἄλλοι μὴ ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἡμετέρας ἀν-  
 ομῶντο ὁρθῶς ξυγγραφάειν, εἰ εὖ ᾤοντο τῶν καμώνων ἐκάστη νοσήσασθαι,  
 ὁκοῖα πάχουσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαταμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸ ἵππεον, μὴ λίγουσι·  
 δὲ κάμωνι, τῶν τὰ πολλὰ πάρεται· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐπι-  
 παρὰ ἔνια ἐόντα εἰς τέκμαρσιν. ὁκόταν δὲ εἰς τέκμαρσιν λίγη] ὡς ἄλλοι  
 ἕκαστα ἡμετέρας, ἐν ταῖσι πολλὰ ἰτεργίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκείνοι

long

long Passage, we may fairly form these Conclusions: 1. That there was a *Physic School* at *Cnidus*: This appears from the Sentences collected under its Name. 2. That the *Cnidian School* was derived from the *Egyptian*: This appears from their sole use of Evacuants, in all but acute Distempers. 3. That it was now of considerable standing; having had a *Reform* in the teaching of more able Practitioners. 4. and lastly, which is most to the Point, that the Physicians of this School were of the *Clinic Sect*; it being impossible they should compose such a Work as *Hippocrates* here criticizes, without a constant Attendance on the *Sick-bed*; and therefore he was not the Founder of this Sect, as *Pliny*, and our Author after him, supposed. — But, for the established State of Physic, its Study as an Art, and Practice as a Profession, when *Hippocrates* made so superior a Figure in it, we have the full Evidence of *Herodotus* his Contemporary; who tells us, that in the Time of *Darius Hystaspis* the *Physic School* at *Crotona* was esteemed by the *Greeks*, first in Reputation, and that at *Cyrene second*<sup>x</sup>; which both implies that these were of considerable standing, and that there were many other besides: And if *Galen*, who tho' a late Writer, was yet a very competent Judge, may be believed, there were<sup>y</sup>: So that *Hippocrates* was so

ἐπιξείσαν· καὶ ἔμεινον ἀπὸ τῶν ὅσα ἰπαινέω, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοις ἢ  
δεῖν τοῖς ἀκρίτοις ἐχρεώθη. τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ αὐτοῖσι περὶ εἶναι,  
πλὴν τῶν ὀξείων νόσων, φάρμακα ἐλατήρια δίδουσι, καὶ ὀρεῖν, καὶ γά-  
λα, ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ σπένδουσιν. ἢ μὲν ἐν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἀρμόζοντα  
τοῖσι νοσήμασι, ἐφ' οἷσι παρῴναι δίδουσι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀξιώτερα ἰπαι-  
νέω, ὅτι ὀλίγα ἐόντα αὐτάρκεια ἐστὶν. νῦν δ' ἔχ' ἕτως ἔχον. οἱ μὲν  
τοὶ ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκόδασαντες ἰητρικώτερον δὲ τι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν  
περὶ οὐκ ἐν ἰατρικῇ.

<sup>x</sup> — ἰβλ. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῶν ὅτι πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο  
ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηνάιοι. lib. iii. c. 131.

<sup>y</sup> *Meth. Medend.* lib. i.

far

far from being *the first that visited Sick-beds, and prescribed with Success in Distempers*, that he was not even the first of the *Greeks*. In a Word, the Truth of the matter is this, the *divine old Man* so totally eclipsed all that went before him, that, as Posterity esteemed *his Works* the Canon, so did they *him* the great Father of Medicine: And this was the Humour of Antiquity. The same Eminence in Poetry made them think *Homer* the Founder of his Art, tho' they who penetrate into the Perfection of his Compositions, know nothing can be more unlikely. But what is strange in this Matter is, that the learned Writer should think it Evidence enough to bring in *Pliny* speaking of *Hippocrates* as the first who prescribed to Sick-beds with Success, for the Confutation of *Herodotus* (Contemporary with *Hippocrates*,) in what he says of the Pharmaceutic Part of Medicine, as an ancient Practice in *Egypt*.

But all our Author's Errors in this Discourse seem to proceed from a wrong Imagination, that the *Dietetic* Medicine was, in Order of Time, before the *Pharmaceutic*; and the greater Simplicity of the first Method, seems to have led him into this Mistake: — *In the Days of Pythagoras*, says he, *the Learned began to form Rules of Diet for the Preservation of Health; and in this consisted the Practice of the ancient Indian Physicians; they endeavoured to cure Distempers by a Diet Regimen, but they gave no Physic. Hippocrates began the Practice of visiting Sick-bed Patients, and prescribed Medicines with Success for their Distempers. This, I think, was the Progress of Physic.* — I think just the contrary; and that, of the three Parts of Medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC, the *Dietetic* was the last found out, as the *Chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the

the first. In the early Ages of long Life and Temperance, Men were still subject to the common Accidents of Wounds, Bruises, and Dislocations; this would soon raise *Surgery* into an Art: Nor was *Pharmacy* so far behind as some may think; Nature itself often eases a too great Repletion by an extraordinary Evacuation; this *natural* Remedy, (whose Effects being immediately felt are therefore seen,) would teach Men to seek an *artificial* one, when Nature was not at hand to relieve.

— But the very early Invention of *Pharmacy* is further seen from that Superstition of Antiquity, which made Medicine the *Gift of the Gods*. For what Medicine do they mean? It could not be *setting a Fracture*, or *closing the Lips of a Wound*; much less a *regular Diet*. Nothing then remains but *Pharmacy*; and this, both in its Invention and Operation, had all the Advantages for making a Fortune: For *first*, it was not the Issue of Study and Ratiocination, but of Chance and Hazard; the Cause of which is out of Sight: But what Men see no Cause of, they generally, in Matters of Importance, ascribe to an invisible one. Thus it was believed, even so late as the Time of *Alexander*<sup>z</sup>, that the Gods continued to enrich the *Physical Dispensatory*. But *secondly*, there was something as extraordinary in the Operation as Invention. *Pharmacy* is divided into the two general Classes of *Evacuants* and *Alteratives*; the most efficacious of these latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any visible Effects of Evacuation, do their Business like a *Charm*. Thus as the general Notion of the Divine Original of Medicine made the Patient very superstitious<sup>a</sup>, so did the

<sup>z</sup> *Cicero de Divin.* lib. ii. c. 66.      <sup>a</sup> *Diis primum inventores suos assignavit, & cœlo dicavit: necnon & hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. Plin. N. H. l. xxix. Proœm.*

secret Operation of *Alteratives* make the Practiser; and hence it is that so much of this Folly hath overrun the Art of Physic in all Ages. Now the bestowing the Invention of Pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly sufficient to prove its early Original; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods, of whose Invention they had any Records: But where the Memory of it was lost, and something extraordinary was in the thing, as in *Seed-Corn, Wine, Writing, Civil-Society, &c.* there the Gods seized the Invention, by that kind of Right that gives *Strays* to the *Lord of the Manor* <sup>b</sup>.

But now the Diætic Medicine had a very low Original, and a well known *Man* for its Author; but such a Man! — as was well worth a Dozen *Heatben Gods*, even the great *Hippocrates* himself: And this we learn from the surest Evidence, his own Writings. In his Tract *de Veteri Medicina* he expressly says, that *Physic was established from the most early times* <sup>c</sup>; meaning, as the Context shews, the *Art of Pharmacy*: But where he speaks soon after in the same Tract of the *Dietetic Medicine*, (which he calls τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, as the Pharmaceutic above, ἰητρικὴ substantively,) he says, *the Art of Physic was neither found out in the most early Times, nor sought after* <sup>d</sup>. And in his *De Dieta in Acutis*, he tells us, *That the Ancients*, (meaning all that had preceded him,) *wrote nothing of Diet*

<sup>b</sup> The Rabbins, amongst their other Pagan Conceits, adopted this; and taught, that God himself instructed *Adam* in the Art of Medicine: — “ Et ductus Adam per omnes Paradisi semitas, vidit omne lignum, arbores, plantas, & lapides, & docuit eum Dominus omnem naturam eorum ad sanandum omnem dolorem & infirmitatem.” *R. Abenezra*. Which, however shews their Opinion of the high Antiquity of the Art.

<sup>c</sup> — ἰητρικὴ ἡ πάντα πάσαι ὑπάρχει. c. iii.

<sup>d</sup> — ἡ γὰρ ἰατρικὴ οὐτ' αὖ ἀρχαία τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, οὐτ' αὖ ἰζη-  
τηθη. cap. v.

worthy

worthy Notice ; and, notwithstanding this was a matter of vast moment, they had intirely omitted it, altho' they were not ignorant of the numerous Subdivisions in the Species of Distempers, or the various Shapes and Appearances of each<sup>e</sup>. Hence it appears that before the Time of Hippocrates, the visiting Sick-beds, and prescribing Medicines, were in Practice, but that the *Dietetic Physic*, as an Art, was entirely unknown : So that had Pliny called Hippocrates the Author of this, instead of the Founder of the *Clinic Sect*, he had come much nearer the Truth.

But without this Evidence we might reasonably conclude, even from the Nature of the Thing, that the *Dietetic Physic* was the latest Effort of the Art of Medicine. For 1. The Cure it performs is slow and tedious, and consequently it would not be thought of, at least not employed, 'till the quick and powerful Operation of the *Pharmaceutic*, which is therefore most obvious to use, had been experienced ineffectual. 2. To apply the *Dietetic Physic*, with any degree of Safety or Success, there is need of a thorough Knowledge of the animal Œconomy, and of its many various Complexions, with long Experience in the Nature and Qualities of Aliments, and their different Effects on different Habits and Constitutions<sup>f</sup>. But the Art of Medicine must have made some considerable Progress before these Acquirements were to be expected in its Professors.

<sup>e</sup> Ἀτὰρ ὡδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ὄρχαοὶ ξυγέγραψαν ὡδὲ ἀξιολόγῃ, καὶ τοὶ μέγα τῷτο παρήκαν. τὰς μὲν τοὶ πολυλογίας τὰς δὲ ἐκάστης τῶν νόσων, καὶ τὸ πολυχιδίῳ αὐτῶν σὺν ἡρόδοτῳ. cap. ii.

<sup>f</sup> Φημί δὲ ὅτι τὸν μέγιστον ὁρθῶς συγγραφέντων περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρώπων, πρῶτον μὲν παντὸς φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γινώσκειν καὶ ἀγινώσκειν· γινώσκειν μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων ξυνίστησι ἐξ ὀρχῆς· ἀγινώσκειν δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερῶν κικροῖται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ὀρχῆς ἐύστασι ἐπιγινώσκειν, καὶ τὸ ἐπικροῦσθαι ἐν

If

If I have been longer than ordinary on this Subject, it should be considered, that the clearing up the State of the *Egyptian Physic* is a matter of Importance; for if the *Practice*, in the Time of *Joseph* was what the *Greek Writers* represent it, as I think I have shewn it was, then this Topic seems absolutely decisive for the high Antiquity of *Egypt*; and the learned Person's Hypothesis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it. For the rest, no one has more Esteem for this truly learned and candid Writer, or for the Merit of his Work; which every where, but where his Hypothesis of the low *Æra* of *Gentile Knowledge* hath misled him, abounds with useful and well grounded Interpretations of sacred Scripture.

IV. We come in the last Place to the FUNERAL RITES of *Egypt*, which *Herodotus* describes in this manner: — “ Their Mournings and Rites of  
“ Sepulture are of this kind: When a principal  
“ Person in the Family dies, all the Females of that  
“ Family besmear their Heads or Faces with Loam  
“ and Mire; and so, leaving the dead Body in  
“ the Hands of the Domestics, march in Proce-  
“ sion thro’ the City, with their Garments close  
“ girt about them, their Breasts laid open, beat-  
“ ing themselves; and all their Relations attend-  
“ ing: In an opposite Procession appear the Males,  
“ close girt likewise, and undergoing the same  
“ Discipline. When this is over, they carry the  
“ Body to be salted: There are Men appointed for

τῶ σώματι, ἔχ' οἷός τ' ἂν ἦν τὰ ἐμφέροντα τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενε-  
χτῆν· ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χερὶ γινώσκουσιν τ' ἐλπίσιν· μὲν δὲ ταῦτα, σίτων  
καὶ ποτῶν ἀπάντων, οἷσι διαλύμεθα, δώαμιεν ἢ τινα ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ  
τ' αὖ φύσιν, καὶ τ' δι' ἀνάγκην, καὶ τέχνῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπι-  
σααδῆν τῷ τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσιν ὡς χερὶ τ' δώαμιεν ἀραιεῶν. Ἰδοὺ δὲ ἀ-  
σθενέσιν, ὅπως χερὶ ἰσχυρῶν προστιθέναι δεῖ τέχνῃς, ὅπως ἂν ὁ κατὰ  
ἐκείνων ἀναρῶν. Hippocr. de Diata lib. i. cap. i.

“ this



“ this Business, who make it their Trade and Employment: — They first of all draw out the Brain, with a hooked Iron, thro’ the Nostrils, &c. — after this they hide it in Nitre for the Space of SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not lawful to keep it salted<sup>s</sup>.” *Diodorus* agrees with *Herodotus* in all the essential Circumstances of Mourning and Embalming. In this last he seems to vary in one Particular: — “ They then anoint the whole Body with the Gum or Refin of Cedar, and of other Plants, with great Cost and Care, for ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and afterwards seasoning it with Myrrh, Cinnamon, and other Spices, not only proper to preserve the Body for a long time, but to give it a grateful Odour, they deliver it to the Relations<sup>h</sup>,” &c. All this operose Circumstance of embalming Scripture History confirms and explains; and not only so, but reconciles the seeming different Accounts of the two Greek Writers, concerning the Number of Days the Body remained with the *Embalmers*: “ And the Physicians, says *Moses*, embalmed *Israhel*; and FORTY DAYS were fulfilled for him,

Ἐ Θελῶσι ὃ καὶ ταφῶν (φύων, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῖσι ἀνὰ πληθύνειν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θύλω γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τέτων κατ’ ὧν ἐπλάτατο τὸ κεφαλὴν πηλῶ ἢ καὶ τὸ προσωποποιεῖται ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίᾳσι λιπῶσαι τὴν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν σφραγίσθαι, τύπῃσι ἐπεξωμῆσαι, καὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰς μαζὰς. (ὡς δὲ σφι αἱ προσηκούσαι πᾶσαι· ἐτέρωθεν ὃ οἱ ἄδρες τύπῃσι, ἐπεξωμῆσαι καὶ ἔτοι· ἐπειὶ ὃ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἔτω ἐς τὸ τελεχέσθαι κομίζουσι. Εἰς ὃ οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τέτω καλῶνται, καὶ τέχνῃ ἔχουσι ταῦτα. — πρῶτα μὲν (καὶ ὅτι) ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὡλῆς ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐκίφαλον, &c. — ταῦτα ὃ ποιήσαντες, τελεχέσθαι λίτρω, κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἐξδομήκῃ· πλεῖνας ὃ τετέων σὺν ἔξει τελεχέσθαι. lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

<sup>h</sup> Καθόλου ὃ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρίᾳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλαις ἐπιμελείας ἀξίειν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πλείους τῇ τελεκῇ, ἐπειὶ σμύρνη καὶ κιννάμωμῳ, καὶ τοῖς διωαμῶνις μὴ μόνον πολλὰ χρόνοι τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρέχει. lib. i. Bibl. p. 58.

“ (for

“ (for so are fulfilled the Days of those which are embalmed,) and the *Egyptians* mourned for him *THREESCORE AND TEN DAYS*<sup>i</sup>. ” Now we learn from the two *Greek* Historians, that the Time of Mourning was while the Body remained with the Embalmers, which *Herodotus* tells us was *seventy Days*: This explains why *the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten Days*. During this Time the Body lay in Nitre; the use of which was to dry up all its superfluous and noxious Moisture; and when, in the compass of *thirty Days*, this was reasonably well effected, the remaining *forty*, the ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ τεράκοντα of *Diodorus*, were employed in anointing it with Gums and Spices to preserve it, which was the *proper embalming*: And this explains the Meaning of *the forty Days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the Days of those that are embalmed*. Thus the two *Greek* Writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and supported by one another.

But if it should be said, that tho’ *MOSES* here mentions *Embalming*, yet the Practice was not so common as the *Greek* Historians represent it, ’till many Ages after; — I reply, that *the Company of Ishmaelitish Merchants with their Camels bearing Spicery, Balm, and Myrrh to carry down into Egypt*<sup>k</sup>, clearly evidence that *Embalming* was at this Time become a general Practice.

On the whole, what stronger Proof can any one require of a rich and powerful Monarchy, than we have here given? — Scripture describes *Egypt* under that Condition, in the Times of the Patriarchs, and the Egression of their Posterity: The *Greek* Writers not only agree to this high Anti-

<sup>i</sup> GEN. I. 2, 3.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. xxxvii. § 25.

quity,

quity, but support their Testimony by a minute Detail of Customs and Manners then in use, which could belong only to a large and well policed Kingdom; and *these* again are distinctly confirmed by the circumstantial History of MOSES.

But it is not only in what they *agree*, but likewise in what they *differ*, that sacred and profane Accounts are mutually supported, and the high Antiquity of *Egypt* evinced. To give one Instance: *Diodorus* expressly tells us, that *the Lands were divided between the King, the Priests, and the Soldiery*<sup>l</sup>; and MOSES, as expressly, that *they were divided between the King, the Priests, and the People*<sup>m</sup>. Now as contrary as these two Accounts look, it will be found, on Examination, that this of *Diodorus* most remarkably supports all that MOSES hath delivered concerning the *Egyptian* Famine, and its Effects. I will endeavour to explain it: MOSES tells us, as we say, that before the Famine, all the Lands of *Egypt* were in the Hands of *King, Priests, and People*; but that national Calamity made a very great Revolution in Property, and brought the whole Possessions of the *People* into the King's Hands; which must needs make a prodigious Accession of Power to the Crown. But *Joseph*, in whom the Offices of *Minister* and *Patriot* supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public Service, prevented, for some Time, the ill Effects of this Accession, by his farming out this new Domain to the old Proprietors, on very easy Conditions. We may well suppose this wise Disposition continued till that *new King arose who knew not Joseph*<sup>n</sup>; that is, would obliterate his Memory, as averse to his Scheme of Policy. He, as appears from Scripture, much affected a

<sup>l</sup> I. i. Bibl.<sup>m</sup> GEN. xlvii.<sup>n</sup> EXOD. i. 8.

despotic Government; to support which, he first established, as I collect, a *standing Militia*; and endowed it with the Lands formerly the People's, who now became a kind of *Villains* to this Order; which resembled the *Zaims* and *Timariots* of the *Turkish* Empire, and were obliged to personal Service: *This* and the *Priesthood* being the two Orders of Nobility in this powerful Empire; and so considerable, that out of either of them, as we observed before<sup>o</sup>, their Kings were indifferently chosen. Thus the Property of *Egypt* became at length divided in the manner the *Sicilian* relates: And it is remarkable, that from this Time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a *standing Militia*<sup>p</sup>, and of the King's *six hundred chosen Chariots*, &c.

#### S E C T. IV.

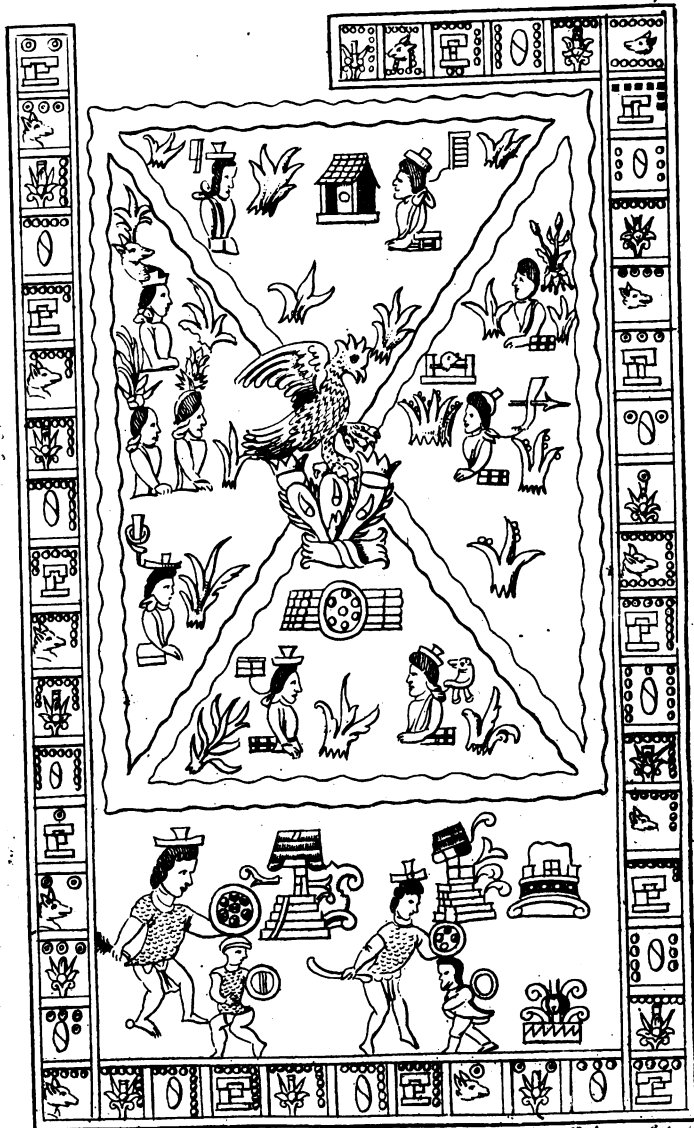
HAVING thus proved the high Antiquity of *Egypt* from the concurrent Testimony of *Sacred* and *Profane* History; I proceed, as I proposed, to evince the same thing from *internal* Evidence; and that taken from the original Use of their so much celebrated **HIEROGLYPHICS**.

But to give this Argument fair Play, it will be necessary to trace up *Hieroglyphic* Writing to its Original; which an universal Mistake concerning its primeval *Use*, hath rendered extremely difficult. The Mistake I mean, is that which makes the *Hieroglyphics* to be invented by the *Egyptian* Priests, in order to hide and secrete their Wisdom from the Knowledge of the Vulgar<sup>q</sup>: A Mistake that hath

<sup>o</sup> See the first Vol. p. 327. Edit. 2.    ¶ EXOD. xiv. 8, 9.

<sup>q</sup> This is the general Sentiment of Antiquity; and as generally embraced by modern Writers. *Kircher* makes it the Foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, and so consequently hath wrote a large Volume full of no less visionary Interpretations than those of *Artemidorus* on *Dreams*. The grand Supposition involved





*A Mexican Picture History of the 51 years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch. From Pirchats.*

involved this Part of ancient Learning in impenetrable Obscurity; and which nothing but a full Detection of it can dissipate.

## I.

There are *two* Ways of communicating the Conceptions of our Minds to others; the first by SOUNDS, and the second by FIGURES. For there being frequent Occasion to have our Conceptions perpetuated, and known at a Distance, and *Sounds* being momentary and confined, the Way of *Figures* or *Characters* was, soon after that of *Sounds*, thought upon to make those Conceptions lasting and extensive.

The first and most natural way of communicating our Conceptions by *Marks* or *Figures*, was by tracing out the *Images* of Things. To express, for Instance, the Idea of a Man or Horse, the Informer delineated the *Form* of each of those Animals. Thus the first Essay towards *Writing* was a mere PICTURE.

I. We see this remarkably verified in the Case of the MEXICANS, whose only Method of recording their Laws and History, was by this *Picture-Writing*<sup>r</sup>. *Joseph Acosta* tells us, that when the Inhabitants of the Sea Coasts sent Expresses to

he goes upon, himself tells us is this: — Hieroglyphica Aegyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est, quàm Arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, SAPIENS potissimum insculpta. *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, tom. iii. p. 4.

<sup>r</sup> In difetto di lettere usarono gl' ingegnosi Mexicani figure, e Geroglifici, per significar le cose corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo segnavano, a prò della posterità, tutte le cose accadute. Per ragion d' esempio per significare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinsero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veste rossa, nel segno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno. *Giro del Mondo del Dottor D. Gio Fr. Gemelli Careri*, tom. sesto. Ar<sup>o</sup>. Nuova Spagna cap. vi. p. 37.

*Montezuma* with News of the first Appearance of the *Spanish* Navy, their Advices were delineated in large Paintings upon Cloth<sup>s</sup>. The same Writer gives us, in another Place, a more particular Account of these Sort of Paintings: “ One of our  
 “ Company of *Jesus* (says he) a Man of much Ex-  
 “ perience and Discernment, assembled in the Pro-  
 “ vince of *Mexico*, the Ancients of *Tuscuco*, *Tulla*,  
 “ and *Mexico*; who, in a long Conference which he  
 “ had with them, shewed him their Records, Hi-  
 “ stories, and Calendars; things very worthy No-  
 “ tice, as containing their Figures and Hierogly-  
 “ phics, by which they painted their Conceptions  
 “ in the following manner: Things that have a  
 “ bodily Shape were represented by their proper  
 “ Figures, and those which have none by other  
 “ significative Characters; and thus they writ or  
 “ painted every kind of thing they would. — For  
 “ my own Satisfaction I had the Curiosity to in-  
 “ spect a *Pater-Noster*, an *Ave-Maria*, the *Creed*,  
 “ and *General Confession*<sup>t</sup>, written in this manner  
 “ by the *Indians*: — To signify these Words, —  
 “ *I a Sinner confess myself*, they painted an *Indian*  
 “ on his Knees before a Religious in the act of  
 “ one in Confession; and then for this, — *To God*  
 “ *Almighty*, they painted three Faces adorned with

<sup>s</sup> — Quando era caso de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Españoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan. *Acosta's Hist. of the Indies*, Madr. 1608. 4<sup>to</sup>. lib. vi. cap. 10. — Con este recado fueron a Mexico los de la costa lleuando pintado en unos paños todo quanto auian visto, y los navios, y hombres, y su figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auian dado. lib. vii. cap. xxiv.

<sup>t</sup> *Acosta's* Words are, — y *Symbolo y la Confession General*, which *Purchas* has translated, — and *Symbol or General Confession of our Faith*; this is wrong, by *la Confession General* is meant a general Confession of Sins, a Formulary very different from the *Creed*.

“ Crowns,



“Crowns, representing the Trinity; — and, *To the glorious Virgin Mary* they delineated the *Visage* of our Lady, and half the *Body* of an *Infant*; and, — *To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two *crowned Heads*, to one of which was added the *Keys*, and to the other a *Sword*, &c. — In *Peru* I have seen an *Indian* bring to the *Confessional* a *Confession* of all his *Sins* wrote in the *same way*, by *Picture* and *Characters*; portraying every one of the *Ten Commandments* after *a certain manner*.”

There is now extant a very curious Specimen of this *Indian Picture-Writing*, made by a *Mexican* Author, and explained by him in that Language, after the *Spaniards* had taught him Letters; which Explanation was afterwards translated into *Spanish*, and, from thence, into *English*. Purchas has given us this Work engraved, with the Explanations annexed. The manner of their coming into his

“Una de los de nuestra Compañia de Jesus, hombre muy platico y diestro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuscuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirió mucho con ellos, y le mostraron sus Librerias, y sus Historias, y Kalendarios, cosa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian sus figuras, y Hieroglyphicas con que pintauam las cosas en esta forma, que las cosas que tenian figuras, las ponian con sus proprias Ymages, y para las cosas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significatiuos de aquello, y con este modo figurauam quanto queriam — e yo he visto para satisfazerme en esta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noster, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confession general, en el modo dicho de Indios. — Para significar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confieso*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioso; como que se confiesa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoso*, pintan tres caras con sus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y a la gloriosa *Virgen Maria*, pintan un rostro de nuestra Señora, y medio cuerpo con un Niño; y a *San Pedro* y a *San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una espada. — Por la misma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru escreite la confession que de todos sus pecados un Indio traya para confesarse. Pintando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo. — lib. vi. cap. 7.

Hands is curious<sup>w</sup>. It is in three Parts; the *first Picture* is a *History* of the *Mexican Empire*; the *second*, a *Tribute Roll*, or an Account of the several particular Tributes that each subdued Town or Province, paid into the Royal Treasury; and the *third*, a *Digest* of their Civil Law: the largest Branch of which was, *De Jure Patrio*.

This was the first, and most simple way, obvious and common to all Mankind, of recording the Conceptions.

II. But the Inconveniencies attending the too great Bulk of the Volume, in Compositions of this kind, would soon set the more ingenious and civilized Nations on contriving Methods to abridge it: Of all which Improvements, that invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the most celebrated. By this Contrivance that Writing, which amongst the *Mexicans* was only a *simple Painting*, became in *Egypt* both a *Picture* and a *Character*.

<sup>w</sup> "Reader, I here present thee with the choicest of my  
"Jewels, &c. — a Politic, Ethic, Ecclesiastic, Oeconomic Hi-  
"story, with just Distinction of Time. — The *Spanish Governor*  
"having, with some Difficulty, obtained the Book of the *In-*  
"dians, with *Mexican* Interpretations of the Pictures, (but ten  
"Days before the Departure of the Ships) committed the same  
"to one skilfull in the *Mexican* Language, to be interpreted;  
"who in a very plain Stile, and *verbatim*, performed the  
"same. This History thus written, sent to *Charles V*, Empe-  
"ror, was, together with the Ship that carried it, taken by  
"French Men of War; from whom *Andrew Thevet* the French  
"King's Geographer obtained the same. After whose Death  
"Master *Hakluyt* (then Chaplaine to the *English* Embassadour in  
"France,) bought the same for twenty French Crowns; and  
"procured Master *Michael Locke*, in Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Name,  
"to translate it. It seems that none were willing to be at the  
"Cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his  
"Papers till his Death: whereby (according to his last Will in  
"that kind) I became Possessour thereof, and have obtained,  
"with much Earnestness, the cutting thereof for the Press."  
*Purchas's Pilgr.* 3<sup>d</sup> Part. p. 1065, 1066.

This



PLATE II. p. 71.



*Part of the North*

This Abridgment was made three kind of ways; and, as appears from the more or less Art in the Contrivance of each kind, by just Degrees, and at three successive Periods.

1. The first Way was, *To make the principal Circumstance of the Subject stand for the whole*. Thus when they would describe a *Battle*, or *two Armies in Array*, they painted, (as we learn from that admirable Fragment of Antiquity, *the Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*,) *two Hands, one holding a Shield, and the other a Bow*<sup>x</sup>; when a *Tumult*, or popular Insurrection, — *an armed Man casting Arrows*<sup>y</sup>; when a *Siege*, — a *Scaling Ladder*<sup>z</sup>. This was of the utmost Simplicity; and consequently, we must suppose it the earliest Way of turning a *Picture* into an *Hieroglyphic*; that is, making it both a *Figure* and a *Character*.

2. The second, and more artful Method of Contraction, was *by putting the Instrument of the Thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the Thing itself*. Thus an *Eye* eminently placed was designed to represent *God's Omniscience*<sup>a</sup>; an *Eye and Sceptre*, to represent a *Monarch*<sup>b</sup>; a *Sword*, — their cruel *Tyrant Ochus*<sup>c</sup>; and a *Ship and Pilot*, the *Governor of the Universe*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> *Horapoll. Hierogl. lib. ii. cap. 5.* Ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727. 4<sup>to</sup>.    <sup>y</sup> *Id. l. ii. c. 12.*    <sup>z</sup> *Id. l. ii. c. 28.*

<sup>a</sup> *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v.*

<sup>b</sup> *Plutarch. Is. & Osir.*

<sup>c</sup> *Id. ib.*

<sup>d</sup> *Jamblichus.* The *Ship and Pilot*, bearing this Signification, would, of course, be much used in the Descriptions of their *Mysteries*, in which, as we have shewn, the Knowledge of the *Governor of the Universe* was Part of the ἀπόρρητα; and so we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembin Table*. Kircher, according to Custom, makes it full of sublime Wonders; but the plain simple Truth is no more than has been said. — *Tacitus*, speaking of the Religion of the *Suevians*, says they worshipped *Isis*; he could not conceive how this came about, only the Figure of a Galley, under which Image she was represented, shewed that they received the Worship from abroad.

3. Their third, and still more artificial Method of abridging *Picture-Writing* was, By making one thing stand for, or represent another, where any quaint Resemblance or Analogy, in the Representative, could be collected from their Observations of Nature, or their traditional Superstitions.

Sometimes this kind of *Hieroglyphic* was founded on their Observations on the Form, and real or imaginary Natures and Qualities of Beings. Thus the Universe was designed by a *Serpent in a Circle*, whose variegated Spots signified the Stars<sup>e</sup>; and the Sun-rise by the *two Eyes of the Crocodile*, because they seem to emerge from its Head<sup>f</sup>; a *Widow who never admits a second Mate*, by a *black Pigeon*<sup>g</sup>; one dead of a Fever, contracted by the over great Solar Heat, by a *blind Scarabæus*<sup>h</sup>; a

Pars Suevorum & Isis sacrificat: unde causa & origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. *De Morib. Germ.* The latter Part of which Period Mr. Gordon has thus translated, unless the Figure of her Image formed like a Galley shewed, &c. But nisi quod do not signify unless, as implying any Doubt, but saving only. So Tully, Nihil video quod timeam nisi quod omnia sunt incerta. Tacitus could tell no more of the Original but only this, that the Worship of Isis came from abroad, because her Image was made in the Figure of a Galley. In this he was positive. But for all that not the less mistaken. It came indeed from abroad, but the Galley was no Mark of it. Strabo tells us, in his fourth Book, that, in an Island near Britain, they performed the same mysterious Rites to Ceres and Proserpine as were used in Samothrace. Ceres and Isis were the same. The Phenician Seamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewise to the Suevians inhabiting the Coasts of the German Ocean. The Governor of the Universe was taught in these Mysteries. Isis was represented by the later Egyptians to be the Governor of the Universe, as we shall see hereafter in a Discourse on the Metamorphosis of Apuleius. But the Governor of the Universe was delineated, in their Hieroglyphics, by a Ship and Pilot. Hence, amongst the Suevians, Isis was worshipped under the Form of a Galley, and not because her Religion came from abroad.

<sup>e</sup> Horap. Hierogl. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>f</sup> l. i. c. 68.

<sup>g</sup> l. ii. c. 32.

<sup>h</sup> l. ii. c. 41.

Client

#### SECT. 4. of MOSES demonstrated. 73

*Client flying for Relief to his Patron, and finding none, by a Sparrow and Owl<sup>i</sup>; a King inexorable, and estranged from his People, by an Eagle<sup>k</sup>; a Man who exposes his Children through Poverty, by an Hawk<sup>l</sup>; a Wife who hates her Husband, or Children who injure their Mother, by a Viper<sup>m</sup>; one initiated into the Mysteries, and so under the Obligation of Secrecy, by a Grasshopper<sup>n</sup>, which was thought to have no Mouth.*

Sometimes again the *Hieroglyphic* was derived from the popular Superstition. Thus he who had borne his Misfortunes with Courage, and had at length surmounted them, was signified by the Skin of the Hyæna<sup>o</sup>, because that, used as a Defence in Battle, was supposed to make the Wearer fearless and invulnerable.

But it is not only from *Analogy* (the Force of which will be fuller seen as we proceed) nor from the *Nature of the Thing*, that we conclude, the *Hieroglyphics* now described, were an Improvement of an earlier Picture-Writing used by the *Egyptians*, and resembling that of the *Americans*. Ancient History records the Fact. We are told, in that exquisite Fragment of *Sanchoniatho*, preserved by *Eusebius*, that “the God *Taautus*, having imitated “*Ouranus’s Art of Picture-Writing* <sup>p</sup>, drew the Portraits of the Gods *Cronus*, *Dagon*, and the rest,

<sup>i</sup> *Horap. Hier.* l. ii. c. 51.    <sup>k</sup> l. ii. c. 56.    <sup>l</sup> l. ii. c. 99.

<sup>m</sup> l. ii. c. 59 & 60.    <sup>n</sup> l. ii. c. 55.    <sup>o</sup> l. ii. c. 72.

<sup>p</sup> The Original is Περὶ τῶν Θεῶν Τάων μνησάμενος ὁ Οὐρανὸν, which *Vigerus* thus translates, *Taautus vero Deus cum jam ante cæli imaginem effinxisset; and Cumberland, But before these things the God Taautus having formerly imitated or represented Ouranus:—*This is wrong, μνησάμενος ὁ Οὐρανὸν signifies here, imitating the Art, or Practice, or Example of *Ouranus*; not painting his Figure. So *Plutarch. de Fort. Alex.* ΗΓΧΛΙΑ ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ, καὶ Πιστεύει ζῆλῳ.

“and

“ and delineated the sacred Characters that formed the  
 “ Elements of this kind of Writing<sup>1</sup>. For Cronus  
 “ particularly, he invented these Ensigns of Royalty,  
 “ — four Eyes, two before, and two behind, of  
 “ which, two were shut in Slumber; and on his  
 “ Shoulders four Wings, two stretched out, as in the  
 “ Act of Flight, and two contracted, as in Repose.  
 “ The first Symbol signified that *Cronus* watched tho’  
 “ he reposed, and reposed tho’ he watched; the

<sup>1</sup> The Original is *καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διέλυπωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας*. There is a small Fault in this Reading; it should be *τὰς τε ἱερὰς*, with the Conjunction: The Corruption helped to mislead *Cumberland*, who translates, — and formed the sacred Characters of the other Elements, p. 38 of his *Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History*; which looks as if the learned Prelate understood by *στοιχείων*, the Elements of Nature; *Cælum* or *Ouranos* having (as he supposed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by *Taautus*: But *ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ* signifies the Elements of Hieroglyphic Writing, and *λοιπὸν* refers not to that, but to *θιῶν* just above; which further appears from what follows — *τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς*, — *Sanchoniatho* had said that *Taautus* represented the Gods in a new invented Hieroglyphic Character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other Hieroglyphic Characters, whether by Figures or Marks; for I apprehend that *ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας* principally designs that Part of Hieroglyphic Writing which was by Marks, not Figures: For without doubt, at first\*, the *Egyptians* used the same Method as the *Mexicans*, who, we are told, expressed in their Hieroglyphic Writing, those things which had Form, by *Figures*; others by *arbitrary Marks*. See p. 69, Note v. But we shall see, that when the *Egyptians* employed this Writing for the Vehicle of their Secrets, they then invented the *Forms* of Things to express *abstract Ideas*. However, that this is the Meaning of *στοιχείων* is further evident from this Place of *Eusebius*, where he speaks of a Quotation of *Philo's*, from a Work of *Sanchoniatho*, concerning the *Phœnician Elements*, *Φοινίκων στοιχείων*; which Work, as appears by his Account of the Quotation, treated of the *Nature of several Animals*. But we have shewn how much *this* Study contributed to the Composition of Hieroglyphic Characters.

\* This *Eusebius* intimates in these Words, speaking of the most ancient *Egyptian* Hieroglyphics, — *ζῷδια τινα ἱερογλυφῶντις, ἃ λοιπὸς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σηματοῖαν ἀν λέγειν ἐβόλοντο*. — in *Iliad*. vi. γ. 168.

“ second



“ second of the Wings signified, in like manner, “ that even when station’d he flew about, and “ when flying yet he was stationed. To each of “ the other Gods he gave two Wings on their “ Shoulders, as the Satellites of *Cronus* in his Excursions; who had likewise two Wings on his “ Head, to denote the two Principles of the Mind, “ *Reason*, and the *Passions*.” Here we see that *Ouranus* practised a kind of *Picture-Writing*, which *Taautus* afterwards improved: *Taautus*, or *Tboth*, the *Egyptian Mercury*; on which Name and Family all the Inventions of the various kinds of Writing were very liberally bestowed: *This*, here mentioned, as the Improvement of *Taautus*, being the very *Hieroglyphics* above described; and *that*, as before practiced by *Ouranus*, the same with the simple *American Paintings*.

Such then was the ancient *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*; and this the second Mode of Invention for recording Mens Actions and Conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a Device of *Choice* for *Secrecy*, but of *Necessity*, for *popular Use*.

III. But the Obscurity which attended the Scantiness of *Hieroglyphic* Characters, joined to the enormous Bulk of *Picture Volumes*, set Men upon contriving a third Change in this kind of Wri-

† Προ ἡ τῶτων θεῶς Τάαυτῳ μιμησάμενῳ τὴν Οὐρανόν, τῷ θεῷ ὄψεις, Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Δαγῶνῳ, καὶ τῷ λοιπῶν διελύπασεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῷ στοιχείῳ χαρακτῆρας· ἐπεινόησε ἡ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ ὡς δῶδεγμα βασιλείας, ὁμοῖα τέσσαρα καὶ τῷ ἱμπερθεῖον καὶ τῷ ὀπισθεῖον μερῶν· δύο ἡ ἡσυχῇ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμων πλερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἰσχυρῶν, δύο ἡ ὡς ὑφεϊκῶν· τὸ ἡ Σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόνῳ κοιμώμενῳ ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἡ γεννητορὶς ἐκοιμάτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀπαυώμενῳ ἱππῶν, καὶ ἱπλάμενῳ ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς ἡ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἡκάστῳ πλερωμάτα ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ ζωώπλιαντο τῷ Κρόνῳ· καὶ αὐτὰ ἡ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλῇ, πλερὰ δύο· ἐν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμονικώτατος γὰρ, καὶ ἐν ἐπὶ τῷ αἰσθητικῆς. *Præf. Evang. l. i. c. 10.*

ting:

ting: of which the CHINESE have given us an illustrious Example.

We have just observed, that the *ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic* was an Improvement on a more ancient manner, resembling the rude Picture-Writing of the *Mexicans*; and joined characteristic *Marks* to *Images*. The *Chinese* Writing went still further, threw out the *Images*, and retained only the contracted *Marks*, which they increased to a prodigious number: In this Writing every distinct Idea has its distinct Mark; which still, like the universal Character of *Picture-Writing*, is common to divers neighbouring Nations, of different Languages<sup>s</sup>; the Shapes and Figures of these *Marks*, however now disguised, do yet betray their Original from Picture and Images; as the Reader may

\* — pero lo que se escribe en ella, en todas las lenguas se entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no se entienden de palabra unas a otras, mas por escrito si, porque las letras o figuras son unas mismas para todos, y significan lo mismo, mas no tienen el mismo nombre ni prolacion, porque como he dicho son para denotar cosas y no palabras, assi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guarismo que puse, se puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que siendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tan diferentes leen y entienden los unos las escrituras de los otros; y si hablas sen lo que leen, o escriben, poco ni mucho no se entenderian. Estas pues son las letras y libros que usan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo, &c. *Acosta* lib. vi. cap. 5.

Les Caractères de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon sont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, & signifient les mêmes choses, sans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même sorte. Ainsi quoique les langues soient tres-differentes, & qu'ils ne puissent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'écrivant, & tous leurs Livres sont communs. Ces Caractères sont en cela comme des Chiffres d'arithmétique: plusieurs Nations s'en servent: on leur donne differens noms; mais ils signifient par tout la même chose — l'on compte jusqu'à quatre-vingt mille de ces Caractères. *Du Halde* *Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 226. Fol. Ed.

perceive,

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*A specimen of the more modern Chinese character taken from their more ancient. The first is modern, the second the correspondent ancient. From Hender's China Illustrata. see p. 115.*



perceive, by casting his Eye on the Specimen given us by *Kircher*<sup>t</sup>: For that it is but a more contracted and *refined Hieroglyphic*, we have the concurrent Testimony of the best Writers on the Arts and Manners of this famous People; who inform us how their present Writing was brought down, thro' an *earlier Hieroglyphic* from the first simple Way of *painting* the human Conceptions<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> *China Illustrata*, p. 227. & *Oedipi Ægyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, p. 12.

<sup>v</sup> *Primò siquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos Sinas characteres suos construxisse, tum ex Chronicis ipsorum patet, tum ipsa characterum forma sat superque demonstrat; siquidem non secus ac Ægyptii ex animalibus, volucris, reptilibus, piscibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filiis, punctis, circulis, similibusque characteres suos, aliâ tamen & aliâ ratione dispositos formabant. Posteriores verò Sinæ rerum experienciâ doctiores, cum magnam in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confusionem viderent; characteres hujusmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorum methodum concinnârunt, quâ & in hunc usque diem utuntur. — Porro litteras Sinæ nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus consuetum est, dispositas, neque voces, ex literis & syllabis compositas habent, sed singuli characteres singulis vocibus & nominibus respondent, adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quot res sunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt. *Kircheri China Illustrata* p. 226.*

Au lieu d'Alphabet ils se sont servis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils ont peint au lieu d'écrire; & par les images naturelles des choses qu'ils formoient sur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer & de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainsi pour écrire un oiseau, ils en peignoient la figure; & pour signifier un forest, ils representoient plusieurs arbres; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, & un croissant la Lune. Cette manière d'écrire estoit non seulement imparfait, mais encore tres-incommode. — Ainsi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur écriture, & composerent des figures plus simples, quoique moins naturelles, &c. — *Le Comte, Nouv. Memoires sur l'Etat Present de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256. *Amst.* 1698. 12<sup>mo</sup>.

Des le commencement de leur Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant sur la papier les images naturelles des choses qu'ils vouloient exprimer: ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiseau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes pour exprimer des oiseaux, des montagnes, un forêt, & des rivières.

Thus

Thus have we brought down the *General History of Writing*, by a gradual and easy Descent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for *Letters* are the very next Step to *Chinese Marks*, which participate of the Nature of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* on the one hand, and of *Letters* on the other; (just as these *Hieroglyphics* equally partook of that of *Mexican Pictures*, and of the *Chinese Characters*;) and are, as we say, on the very Borders of *Letters*; an *Alphabet* being only a compendious Abridgment of that troublesome Multiplicity; of which this is a Demonstration, that some Alphabets, as the *Ethiopic*<sup>x</sup>, have taken in those very *Characteristic Marks* to compose their *Letters*, as appears both from

Cette maniere d'expliquer sa pensée étoit fort imparfaite & demandoit plusieurs volumes pour exprimer assez peu des choses. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être representez par la peinture. — C'est pour quoi insensiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'ecrire: ils composerent des figures plus simples, & en inventerent plusieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets qui ne tombent point sous les sens. Mais ces caracteres plus modernes ne laissent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglises. Premièrement parce qu'ils sont composez de lettres simples qui retiennent la même signification des caracteres primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils representoient ainsi le Soleil par un cercle ☉ & l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le representent maintenant par cette figure ☐, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'institution des hommes a attaché à ces figures le même idée, que ces premiers Symboles presentent naturellement, & qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoise qui n'ait sa propre signification, lorsqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tsai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur*, calamité, est composé de la lettre *mien*, qui signifie *maison*, & de la lettre *ho*, qui signifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur, est devoir sa maison en feu. On peut juger par ce seul exemple, que les caracteres Chinois n'étant pas des lettres simples, comme les notres, qui separement ne signifient rien, & n'ont de sens que quand elles sont jointes ensemble; ce sont autant de Hieroglises, qui forment des images, & qui expriment les pensées. *Du Halde*, tom. ii. p. 227.

<sup>x</sup> L'Alphabet Ethiope est de tous ceux que l'on connoît qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes. *Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. sec. p. 501.

their

their Shapes and Names<sup>y</sup>. This is further seen by the Names which express *Letters* and *Literary-Writing* in the ancient Languages: Thus the *Greek* Words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ signify as well the *Images of natural Things*, as *artificial Marks or Characters*; and ΓΡΑΦΩ both to *paint* and to *write*. The not attending to this natural and easy Progress of recording the Thoughts, made some of the wisest amongst the Ancients, as *Plato* and *Tully*, when struck with the wonderful Artifice of *Letters*, conclude that they were no human Invention, but a Gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we see the first *Beginnings* of *Hieroglyphics* amongst the *Mexicans*, and the *End* of them amongst the *Chinese*; in neither of which Places were they ever employed for *Mystery* or *Concealment*: What therefore we find of this Practice, in their *middle Stage* of Cultivation amongst

<sup>y</sup> *Kircher* illustrates this matter in his Account of the *Coptic Alphabet*. But every thing that relates to *Egypt* being, on his System, a *Mystery*, the Shapes and Names of the Letters of their Alphabet are a *profound* one: Tho' nothing could be more natural, as we have shewn, than for a People long used to *Hieroglyphic Characters*, to employ the most celebrated of them, when they invented an *Alphabet*, for the Letters of it: And if the *Chinese*, who yet want an *Alphabet*, were now to invent one, who can doubt but they would use the most venerable of their Characteristic Marks for the Letters of it? However, let us hear *Kircher* for the Fact's sake: — Ita Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum institutis sine mysterio peragebatur, ita & in lingua communi, uti ex Alphabeto eorundem, mysteriosa literarum institutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum sacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur, patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis varix diversorum sunt opiniones. Omnes tamen in hoc consentiunt plerasque ex sacrorum animalium forma, incessu, aliarumque corporis partium sitibus & symmetria desumptas. Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui septem vocales assignans, septem Diis consecratas ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ desumptas. Eusebius affruit idem. — *Theat. Hierogl.* p. 42. tom iii. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.*

the

the *Egyptians*, we may be assured had an extrinsic Cause, and was foreign to their Nature.

But the *Mexican* Empire did not continue long enough to improve *Picture* into an *Hieroglyphic*; and the *Chinese*, which in the mighty Course of its Duration hath brought it down thro' *Hieroglyphics* to a *simple Mark*, or Character, hath not yet, from the Poverty of its inventive Genius, and Aversion to foreign Commerce, been able to find out an Abridgment of those *Marks*, by *Letters*; it was the old well policied *Egyptian* Monarchy, so propitious to Arts and Ingenuity, that carried the *Picture*, thro' all the Stages of its Improvement, quite down to *Letters*, which that People invented.

Such a Concurrence therefore in the Method of recording the Thoughts, can never be supposed the Effect of Imitation, of By Ends, or Hazard; but must be judged the sole uniform Voice of Nature, speaking to the rude Conceptions of Mankind: For the Reader may be pleased to observe, that not only the *Chinese* of the *East*, the *Mexicans* of the *West*, and the *Egyptians* of the *South*, but the *Scythians* likewise of the *North*, (not to speak of those intermediate Inhabitants of the Earth, the *Indians*, *Phenicians*, *Ethiopians*, *Etruscans*, &c.) all used the same way of Writing by *Picture* and *Hieroglyphic*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀλλὰ ὅς ἐ μόνον Αἰγυπτίῳ οἱ λογικώτατοι, πρὸς ᾧ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ᾤρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐξήλωσαν· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰδανθέρων τῷ ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλείᾳ, &c. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general Prepossession that *Hieroglyphics* were a late Art, invented by philosophic Men, to secrete their Knowledge, expresses himself accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ᾤρέχθησαν, and yet, methinks, the Story he tells of the *Scythian* King might have directed him to another Original. *Eustathius* says the same thing: Οἱ δὲ γε πολλοὶ, ὅπῃ τινι καὶ οἱ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐποίησαν, ζώδιά τινος ἱερογλυφικῆς καὶ λοιπὰς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λίγην ἐβόλουν.

But



But for still fuller Evidence that it was *Nature and Necessity*, not *Choice and Artifice*, that gave Birth and Continuance to these several Species of *Hieroglyphic Writing*, we shall now take a View of the Rise and Progress of its *Sister-Art*, the Art of SPEECH; and *these* being set together and compared, will reflect mutual Lustre on one another.

I. LANGUAGE, as appears both from the Records of Antiquity, and the Nature of the Thing, was at first extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal<sup>a</sup>; so that Men would be perpetually at a loss,

ἔγω κ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ κ' ὅτι τις ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἐσήμαιον ὃ ἤθελον, εἰδὼς τινα κ' πολυεὲς γράμματα ἐξέμαζα ἐγγραφόντες.— In *Iliad*. vi. ὗ 168. And *Olaus Magnus*, a late Writer indeed, but a very competent Judge, confirms what they say of the *Scythians* using Hieroglyphics instead of Letters, — instar *Ægyptiorum* variis animalium figuris pro literis utebantur, *lib. i. cap. 2.*

<sup>a</sup> In judging only from the Nature of Things, and without the surer Instruction of Revelation, one should be apt to embrace the Opinion of *Diodorus Siculus* [*lib. ii.*] and *Vitruvius* [*lib. ii. cap. i.*] that the first Men lived, for some Time, in Woods and Caves, after the manner of Beasts, uttering only confused and indistinct Sounds; till associating for mutual Assistance, they came, by degrees, to use such as were articulate; for the arbitrary Signs or Marks, mutually agreed on, of those Ideas in the Mind of the Speaker, which he wanted to communicate to others. Hence the Diversity of Languages; for it is agreed on all hands that Speech is not innate. This is so natural an Account of the Original of Language, and so unquestioned in Antiquity, that *Gregory Nyssen* [*adver. Eunomium lib. xii.*] a Father of the Church, and *Richard Simon* [*Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. lib. i. cap. 14, & 15. lib. iii. cap. 21.*] a Priest of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to support it: And yet, methinks, they should have known better; nothing being more evident from Scripture than that *Language* had a different Original. God, we there find, taught the first Man *Religion*; and can we think he would not, at the same Time, teach him *Language*? If it be said he might gain *Language* by the Use of Reason, it may be replied, so he might *Religion* likewise; and *this* much easier and sooner. Again, when God created *Man*, he made *Woman* for his Companion and Associate; but the only means of enjoying that Benefit was the Use of Speech? Can we believe that he

on any new Conception, or uncommon Adventure, to explain themselves intelligibly to one another :

would leave them to get out of the forlorn Condition of Brutality as they could ? But we have more than Probability for this Opinion ; the exprefs Testimony of MOSES, if I am not much mistaken, that God *did indeed* teach Man Language ; the Place I mean is this : — *And God brought every Beast of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air, unto Adam, to see what he would call them : and whatsoever Adam called every living Creature, that was the Name thereof. And Adam gave Names to all Cattel, and to the Fowl of the Air, and to every Beast of the Field.* GEN. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common Figure of Speech, the Historian, instead of *directly* relating the Fact, that God taught Men Language, *represents* it, by shewing God in the *Act* of doing it, in a particular *Mode* of Information ; and that the most apposite we can conceive in elementary Instruction ; namely, *the giving Names to Substances* ; things with which *Adam* was to be most conversant, and which therefore had need of being distinguished each by its *proper Name* : And what a familiar Image do these Words give one of a Learner of his Rudiments ? — *And God brought every Beast, &c. to Adam to see what he would call them.* In a Word, the Prophet's manner of relating this important Fact, has, in my Opinion, an uncommon Elegance. But it is surprizing to think how much so natural an Interpretation of the Text has been overlook'd, while Men have given a Loose to their Imaginations, and rambled after mysterious Senses, supported only by their own favourite Systems ; the most generally received, tho', perhaps, as groundless as any, is, *that Adam gave every Creature a Name expressive of its Nature.* But of all the Extravagancies charged upon this Text, none sure ever equalled the Absurdity of that which Tindal brings, with a *professed* Intention to discredit it. " Some (says this great Philosopher) " would be almost apt to imagine, that the Author of the " Book of GENESIS thought that Words had Ideas naturally " fixed to them, and not by Consent ; otherwise, say they, how " can we account for his supposing that God brought all Animals before *Adam*, as soon as he was created, to give them " Names ; and that *whatsoever* Adam called every living Creature, *that was the Name thereof.*" [*Christianity as old as the Creation*, 8<sup>vo</sup> Ed. p. 228.] — But tho', from what hath been said above, it appears that God taught Man Language, yet we cannot reasonably suppose it any other than what served his present Occasions, he being now of himself able to improve and enlarge it, as his future Necessities should require : Consequently the first Language must needs be very poor and narrow.

This

This would naturally set them upon supplying the Deficiencies of Speech by apt and significant *Signs*. Accordingly; in the first Ages of the World, mutual Converse was upheld by a mixed Discourse of Words and ACTIONS; and Use and Custom, as in most other Circumstances of Life improving what arose out of *Necessity*, into *Ornament*, this Practice subsisted long after the Necessity had ceased; especially amongst the *Eastern* People, whose natural Temperature inclined them to a Mode of Conversation which so well exercised their Vivacity, by *Motion*; and so much gratified it, by a perpetual Representation of *material Images*: Of this we have *innumerable* Instances in *Holy Scripture*: As where the false Prophet *pushed* with Horns of Iron, to denote the entire Overthrow of the *Syrians*<sup>b</sup>; where *Jeremiah*, by God's Direction, *hides* the Linen Girdle in a Hole of the Rock near *Euphrates*<sup>c</sup>; where *he* *breaks* a Potter's Vessel in Sight of the People<sup>d</sup>; *puts on* Bonds and Yokes<sup>e</sup>, and *casts* a Book into *Euphrates*<sup>f</sup>; where *Ezekiel*, by the same Appointment, *delineates* the Siege of *Jerusalem* on a Tile<sup>g</sup>; *weighs* the Hair of his Beard in Balances<sup>h</sup>; *carries* out his Household-stuff<sup>i</sup>, and *joins together* the two Sticks for *Judah* and *Israel*<sup>k</sup>. By these Actions the Prophets instructed the People in the Will of God, and conversed with them in Signs: But where God teaches the Prophet; and, in Compliance to the Custom of that Time, condescends to the same Mode of Instruction, then the *significative Action* is generally changed into a *Vision*, either *natural* or *extraordinary*: As where the Prophet *Jeremiah* is bid *regard* the Rod of the Almond-Tree, and the Seething-Pot<sup>l</sup>; the Work on the Potter's

<sup>b</sup> 1 KINGS xxii. 11.      <sup>c</sup> chap. xiii.      <sup>d</sup> chap. xix.  
<sup>e</sup> chap. xxvii.      <sup>f</sup> chap. li.      <sup>g</sup> chap. iv.      <sup>h</sup> chap. v.  
<sup>i</sup> chap. xii.      <sup>k</sup> chap. xxxvii. 16.      <sup>l</sup> chap. i.

Wheel<sup>m</sup>, and the Baskets of good and bad Figs<sup>n</sup>; and the Prophet *Ezekiel*, the Resurrection of the dry Bones<sup>o</sup>. The significative *Action* was, I say, in this Case, generally changed into a *Vision*, but not *always*. Sometimes, tho' the Information was only for the Prophet, God would set *him* upon an expressive *Action*, whose obvious Meaning convey'd the Intelligence proposed or *sought*. Of this we shall give a most illustrious Instance; to the Confusion of Infidelity; before we come to the Close of the present Volume. The great *Maimonides*, not attending; as would seem, to this *primitive Mode of Information*, is much scandalized at several of these Actions, unbecoming, as he imagined, the Dignity of the Prophetic Office; and is therefore, in general, for resolving them into supernatural *Visions*, impressed on the Imagination of the Prophet<sup>p</sup>; and this, because two or three of them may, perhaps, admit such Interpretation. In this he is followed by *Christian Writers*<sup>q</sup>, much to the Discredit, as I conceive, of Religion, and to the Triumph of Libertinism and Infidelity;

<sup>m</sup> 1 KINGS xviii.    <sup>n</sup> chap. xxiv.    <sup>o</sup> chap. xxxvii. 2.

<sup>p</sup> *More Nervochim*, P. 2. cap. xlvii. which Chapter he thus intitles, *Quod opera ea, quæ Prophetæ dicunt se fecisse, non fuerint facta reverà & externè, sed tantum in visione Prophetiæ*; and then goes on: — Scias ergo, quemadmodum in Somnio accidit, ut Homini videatur, ac si in hanc vel illam Regionem profectus esset, uxorem in ea duxisset, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitasset, filium, quem N. appellârit, & qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea suscepisset; ita se quoque rem habere in illis parabolis Prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in visione Prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent Parabolæ illæ de actione aliqua & rebus, quas Prophetæ facit, de mensura & spatio temporis inter unam & alteram actionem, de profectioe ex uno loco in alium; illud omne non est nisi in visione prophetica, nequaquam verò sunt actiones veræ & in sensus incurrentes, licet quædam partes præcisè & absolute commemorentur in libris Prophetarum.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. *Joannis Smith Theol. Cantab. Dissertationem de Prophetia & Prophetis ex transl. Joannis Clerici*, cap. vi.

the

the *Actions* of the Prophets being delivered as *Realities*, and these Writers (thro' a Misapprehension of their Nature,) representing such Actions as absurd and *fanatical*<sup>r</sup>. But what is it that they gain by this Expedient? The Infidel Charge of *Absurdity* and *Fanaticism*, will follow the Prophet in his *Visions*, when they have removed it from his waking *Actions*: For if these Actions were absurd and fanatical in the *real* Representation, they must needs be so in the *imaginary*; the same Turn of Mind giving Birth to both. The judicious Reader therefore cannot but observe that the reasonable, the true Defence of the *Prophetic Writings*, is what we here offer: Where we shew, that *Infor-*

<sup>r</sup> — Quemadmodum autem vidit in Visionibus [Propheta] quod iussus fuerit [EZECH. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare & videre posset, quid intus faciant, quod foderit, per foramen ingressus fuerit, & viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum est ad eum; & tu sume tibi laterem &c. [EZECH. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonsoriam cape tibi*, [EZECH. cap. v.] ita inquam ista omnia in Visione Prophetice facta sunt, ac vidit, vel visum fuit ipsi, se ista opera facere, quæ ipsi præcipiebantur. Absit enim ut Deus Prophetas suos stultis vel ebriis similes reddat, eosque stultorum aut furiosorum actiones facere jubeat. *More New. P. ii. cap. xli.* — But here the great Author's Reasoning is defective, — because what *Ezekiel* saw in the *Chambers of Imagry* in his eighth Chapter was in Vision, therefore his *Delineation of the Plan of the Siege*, and the *shaving his Beard*, in the fourth and fifth Chapters, were likewise in Vision. But to make this Illation logical, it is necessary that the Circumstance in the eighth, and *those* in the fourth and fifth be of the same Species; but, on Examination, we find them to be very different: *That* in the eighth was *to shew the Prophet* the excessive Idolatry of *Jerusalem*, by a Sight of the very Idolatry itself; *those* in the fourth and fifth to *convey the Will of God*, by the Prophet, to the People, in a symbolic Action. Now in the first Case, as we have shewn above, the Information was properly by Vision, either real or fantastical, and fully answer'd the End, namely, the Prophet's Information; but, in the latter, a Vision had been improper; for a Vision to the Prophet was no Information to the People.

mation by *Action* was, at this Time, and amongst these People, a *very common and familiar Mode of Conversation*. This once seen, all Accusations of *Absurdity*, and Suspicions of *Fanaticism* vanish of themselves; the *Absurdity* of an *Action*, as the very Word shews, consists in its being extravagant and insignificant; but Use and Custom made these in Question both sober and pertinent: And the *Fanaticism* of an *Action* being only supported by this Principle, — *that the delighting in unusual Actions and foreign Modes of Speech is an Indication of that Turn of Mind*; when it is shewn that those in Question are idiomatic and familiar, the Suspicion must drop of Course. To illustrate this last Observation by a domestic Instance: When the *Sacred Writers* talk of being *born after the Spirit*, of being *fed with the sincere Milk of the Word*, of *putting their Tears into a Bottle*, of *bearing Testimony against lying Vanities*, of *taking the Veil from Mens Hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they speak the common, yet proper and pertinent Phraseology of their Country; and not the least Imputation of *Fanaticism* can stick upon these original Expressions. But when we see our own Countrymen reprobate their native Language, and affect to employ only *Bible Phrases* in their whole Conversation, as if some inherent Sanctity resided in the *Eastern Modes of Expression*, we cannot chuse but suspect such Men far gone in the Delusions of a heated Imagination.

But it is not only in *Sacred Story* that we meet with these Examples of *Speaking by Action*. *Profane Antiquity* is full of them; and it is not unlikely but, in the Course of our Enquiry, we shall have Occasion to give some Instances of this kind. Their *early Oracles*, particularly, used this Way of Information, as we learn from an old Saying of  
Hera-

*Heracitus : That the King, whose Oracle is at Delphi, neither speaks nor keeps silent, but reveals himself by SIGNS; a plain Proof this, that speaking by Actions was once in the common Fashion of Information.*

Now this Method of *expressing* the Thoughts by ACTIONS perfectly coincided with that of *recording* them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable Circumstance in ancient Writ, which participates so equally of the Nature of *Speaking by Action* and *Writing by Picture*, that we may well consider it as the *Link* by which these two Forms of Expression are connected; and as an Argument of their near relation to one another. The Story is told by *Clemens Alexandrinus* in these Words: *It is said that Idanthura, a King of the Scythians, as Pherecydes Syrius relates it, when ready to oppose Darius, who had passed the Ister, sent the Persian a Symbol instead of Letters, namely, a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plow<sup>t</sup>. Thus this Message being to supply both Speech and Writing, the Purport of it was, we see, expressed by a Composition of Action and Picture.*

II. As Speech became more cultivated, this rude manner of Speaking by *Action* was smoothed and polished into an APOLOGUE or *Fable*; where the Speaker, to inforce his Purpose, by a suitable Impression, told a *familiar* Tale of his own Invention, composed of such Circumstances as made his Purpose fully evident and persuasive: For Language was yet too narrow, and the Minds of Men too undisciplin'd, to support only abstract Reason-

<sup>t</sup> Φασὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰδάνθουρον τῷ Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ Δαδάρῳ τὸν Ἰστρὸν πέρασεν ἀπειλῆσαι, σὺμβολον ἀντὶ τῷ γεγραμμάτων, μῦς, βάτραχος, ὄρνις, οἶστρον, ἀροτρον. *Strom. lib. v. p. 567.*

ing and a direct Address. We have a noble Example of this Form of Instruction in the Speech of *Jotham* to the Men of *Shechem*; in which he upbraids their Folly, and foretells their Ruin, in chusing *Abimelech* for their King. As this is not only the oldest, but the most beautiful *Apologue* of

⁂ The general Moral of it, which is of infinite Importance, and inculcated with all imaginable Force, is that *weak and worthless Men are ever foremost in thrusting themselves into Power*; while the *wise and good* decline Rule, and prize the *Use* of their native Ease and Liberty above all the gaudy Trappings of Sovereignty. The Vanity of base Men in Power is taught in the fifteenth Verse, and the *Ridicule* of that Vanity is most inimitably marked out in the Circumstances of it; where the *Bramble* is made to bid his new Subjects, who wanted no Shadow, to *come and put their Trust in his*, who had none; and that in Case of Disobedience, he would send out from himself a *Fire that should devour the Cedars of Lebanon*; whereas the *Fire of Brambles*, and such like Weeds, was short and momentary even to a *Proverb*, amongst the *Easterns*. — And here, Reader, the Ingenuity or critical Acumen of Master *Tindal* is worth thy Notice; who speaking of the Necessity of the Application of Reason to Scripture, in order to understand aright those Passages of the *Old Testament*, where God is spoken of after the manner of Men, as being *jealous, angry, repentant, reposing, &c.* (Modes of Expression very *apposite*, where God's Moral Government of the World is spoken of; very *necessary*, where his Civil Government of a particular People.) *Tindal*, I say, brings this in amongst the rest, — *Wine, which cheareth God and Man*, as if *Jotham* meant God the Governour of the Universe; when every Reader of common Sense must see that the true Meaning is, — *Wine cheareth Hero-Gods and common Men*. We have a similar Expression in *Hesiod*, where he tells us, that the *Vengeance of the Fates pursued the Crimes of Gods and Men*.

Αἴτ' ἈΝΔΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΕ ὈΨΙΒΑΣΙΑΣ ἰφίππουσιν,  
 Οὐδέ ποτε λήγουσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χέλοις,  
 Περὶ γ' ἀπὸ τῶ δώσωσι κακὴν ὅπιν ὅς τις ἀμάρτη.

ΘΕΟΓ. § 220.

And it is remarkable that *Jotham* is here speaking to an idolatrous City, that *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God*; a God sprung from amongst *Men*, as may be partly collected from his Name, as well as from divers other

Antiquity



Antiquity, I shall need no Excuse for transcribing it: —“ The Trees went forth on a time to anoint a King over them, and they said unto the Olive-tree, Reign thou over us. But the Olive-tree said unto them, Should I leave my Fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and Man, and go to be promoted over the Trees? And the Trees said to the Fig-tree, Come thou, and reign over us. But the Fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my Sweetness, and my good Fruit, and go to be promoted over the Trees? Then said the Trees unto the Vine, Come thou, and reign over us. And the Vine said unto them, Should I leave my Wine, *which beareth God and Man*, and go to be promoted over the Trees? Then said all the Trees unto the Bramble, Come thou and reign over us. And the Bramble said unto the Trees, If in truth ye anoint me King over you, then come and put your Trust in my Shadow: and if not, let Fire come out of the Bramble, and devour the Cedars of *Lebanon* <sup>w</sup>. ”

Circumstances. — But our Critic, who could not see the *Sense*, it is certain, saw nothing of the *Beauty* of the Expression; which contains one of the finest Strokes of *Ridicule* in the whole *Apologue* so much abounding with it; and insinuates to the *Shechemites*, the Vanity and pitiful Original of their idolatrous Gods; who were thought to be, or really had been, exhilarated with this mortal Potation. With the like Air of Scorn and Contempt the Prophet *Elijah* counselled the idolatrous Priests of *Baal*. — *Cry aloud, for he is a God, either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a Journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.*

<sup>w</sup> JUDGES ix. 7. If one could be surprized at Ignorance or ill Faith in a Book where nothing else is to be found, *the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, the following Instance would surprize one. The illustrious Author of *the Use and Intent of Prophecies* had urged the manifest Absurdity of supposing the Promise to *Adam*, GEN. iii. 15. to signify no more than *that Serpents would be apt to bite Men by the Heels, and that Men would,*

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How nearly the *Apologue* and Instruction by *Aetion* are related, is seen in the Account of *Jeremias*'s Adventure with the *Rechabites*, Chap. xxxv.

*in Revenge, be as apt to strike them on the Head.* — To which Mr. Collins replies in this manner: — “What the Dean just now said is nothing but an Argument from the pretended Absurdity of the literal Sense, and that supposes the most plain Matter of Fact to be *Fable, or Parable, or Allegory*; tho’ it be suited to the Notions of the Ancients, *who thought that Beasts had, in the first Ages of the World, the Use of Speech*, agreeable to what is related in the Bible of *Balaam’s Ass*, and told after a *simple historical manner*, like all the Relations in the Old Testament, wherein there is nothing favours of *Allegory*, and every thing is plainly and simply exposed.” pag. 234. It would, I believe, be hard to find in any other Place even of his own Books, so gross a Heap of *Falshoods and Absurdities* within the Compass of so few Lines. Let us review them as they lie: — *the Dean*, he says, *supposes the most plain Matter of Fact to be FABLE, OR PARABLE, OR ALLEGORY.* The Dean never supposed any thing so absurd. He knew well, though Mr. Collins did not, that *Fable, Parable, and Allegory* were very different things; that a *Fable* was a Story familiarly told, without any pretended Foundation of Fact, with Design to persuade the Hearers of some Truth in question; that a *Parable* was the same kind of Story, more obscurely delivered; and that an *Allegory* supposed the relation of a real Faët, delivered in symbolic Terms: So that the Dean was so far from making the Story of *the Fall* to be a *Fable, or Parable*, that it was his Intent to shew the Infidels it was neither one nor the other, but a true Story; and this by proving it was told *allegorically*. According to our Author it is a *Fable* to be understood *literally*, because it was suited to the Notions of the Ancients, *who thought that Beasts had, in the first Ages of the World, the Use of Speech.* By the Ancients he must mean those of *MOSES’s Time*, or he means nothing to the Purpose: And this will be News indeed to the learned World. What Authority therefore brings he to support it? By my troth, an authentic one! *Balaam’s Ass.* — Agreeable, says he, to what is related in the Bible of *Balaam’s Ass*, and told after a *simple historical manner.* But what in the mean time did he take his Countrymen to be? Surely much below *Balaam’s Ass*: Beasts of a very degenerate Age, mute, and without one Word left to upbraid him for so shameless a Prevarication. The Bible, which he thus confidently appeals to, representing this Adventure, in every Line, as extraordinary and miraculous. *Balaam* had the Gift of Prophecy, an Angel intervened, and God

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an Instruction partaking of the joint Nature of *Action* and *Apologue*.

This was the Birth of the *Fable*; a kind of

is expressly said to have opened the Ass's Mouth. But whether it was his Confidence in the Asses he writ to, or his Modesty in concealing his great Reading, he has chosen to lay the whole Burden on a single Beast, when he had the whole Animal Creation at his Service; for however he is pleased to conceal the Matter, he had a much better Proof that *the Ancients thought Beasts had the Use of Speech, in the first Ages of the World*, than *Balaam's Ass*; and that was ESOP'S FABLES. This Book had hardly escaped his great Reading: For Sir *W. Temple* had said the most ancient Books were the best, and chanc'd to give *this*, instead of the Bible, as a Proof. These *Tales*, our *Schemist* without doubt, understood, as *intended* Relations of Fact. And where was the Wonder? For, tho' he had wrote more Books than one on the *allegorical* Sense of *Prophecies*, yet we see he did not so much as know what an *Allegory* was. However, if he thought this too deep for Divines, and would send them to their Bible, What Power of Sympathy drew him towards *Balaam's Ass*? who, tho' he speaks indeed, yet speaks so little to his Purpose? His *Esop's Fables* might have led him rather to the Story of *Jotham*, so *plainly and simply exposed*, that had not only the *Serpent*, but the *Tree of Knowledge* likewise spoke, he could have given a good Account of the Phenomenon, by *Jotham's Fable*, told *after a simple historical manner, like all the Relations in the Old Testament*. A great Improvement, believe me, *this*, to his Discovery, — *that the Ancients thought not only that Beasts, but that Trees spoke in the first Ages of the World*. The *Ancients*! What an Opinion had this great Man of ancient Wisdom! However, he spoke as he found. They seem to have taught *him* but little. — They delighted in fabulous Traditions, it is true; but for all that, were not such Idiots as he makes them. As incredible and extravagant as they were in their Mythology, they had always the Sense to give a *sufficient* Cause to every Effect. They never represented Things out of Nature, but as placed there by some God who had Nature in his Power. Even *Hommer*, when he makes the *Horses of Achilles* speak, or feel human Passions, thinks it not enough to represent them as agitated by a God, without informing us that they were of a celestial and immortal Race likewise. And let me tell all this Sort of *Writers* and *Readers*, that the ancient Love of Prodigy and Wonder would never have shewn itself in these Effects, had it not been for the *certain Tradition* of the so frequent Interposition of God's Providence, in the first Ages of the World. The Truth is, An-  
Speech

Speech which corresponds, in all Respects, to writing by *Hieroglyphics*, each being the Symbol of something else understood. And, as it sometimes

antiquity does talk of Speech and Language as natural to Animals ; and 'tis not unlikely but our Author had some imperfect Knowledge of it ; and so, as it fitted his Purpose, he gave that Opinion at a Venture to *early Antiquity*, which was the Product of *Grecian Times*. This Notion was of two kinds, and sprung up in two different Periods.

The *first* was that of the *Greeks*. When their Poets had invented the *Fable* of the *Four Ages*, amongst the many Extravagancies with which they set off *that of Gold*, one was, that *Beasts and Men* had a common Language. The secret Meaning of those who first hazarded the Thought, was, that indeed neither had any : For the *Greeks* supposed, as we have seen above, that Men got Language by very slow degrees. However, the matter soon came to be understood the way that most favoured the miraculous ; which was, that Beasts in that *happy Age*, had the Gift of human Speech. But this, as we say, is to be found only in the Flights of their Poets, and in Times so distant from the Age in Question, that it makes no more for his Point, than the *Tales of the Fairies*.

The *second* was that of the *Barbarians*, and in an Age still later, but in a Sense something more philosophical. They supposed Beasts had a Language, but a Language of their own ; and so very different from human Speech, that the Knowledge of it was esteemed a high Point of Wisdom to attain. The *Arabians* seem to have been the *first* in this Notion, which appears to have had no other Original than this : — Many of these People living a contemplative Life, in wild Waits and Desarts, could tell by the Noise of Birds in their Flight, and the Cries of wild Beasts, any rare Adventure at a considerable Distance ; such as the March of Horsemen or Caravans. This Information in their figurative way of Expression, they called *Speech* ; which, in time, came to be thought so in good earnest. The very same Notion had the *Goths* concerning the Speech of Birds and Beasts, [See *Thom. Barthol. Antiq. Dan.* p. 668, 669.] The *Comte de Boulainvilliers* explains this matter well in his *Life of Mabomet*, where speaking of the Advantages of Solitude to the *Arabians*, amongst other things, he says : — Mais elle ne leur sert pas moins à augmenter leurs connoissances, lesquelles ils étendent, selon leur génie particulier, aux sciences les plus difficiles. Il n'est point rare en effet de trouver chez eux des hommes qui se sont fait une étude dans le loisir de cette solitude, du langage des oiseaux ; de sorte que l'usage leur rend familière la signification

happened

happened, when a *Hieroglyphic* became famous, it lost its *particular* Signification, and assumed a *general* one; (as the *Caduceus*, which was, at first, painted only to denote the pacific Office of *Hermes*, became, in time, to be the common Symbol of League and Amity :) So it was with the *Apologue*; of which, when any one became celebrated for the Art and Beauty of its Composition, or for some extraordinary Efficacy in its Application, it was soon worn and convert<sup>d</sup> into a PROVERB. We have a fine Instance of this in the Message of *Jeboash* to *Amaziah*, — “Saying, *The Thistle that was in Lebanon, sent to the Cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy Daughter to my Son to Wife: And there passed by a wild Beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the Thistle. Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine Heart hath lifted thee up; glory of this, and tarry at home:*

de certains cris; chose aisée à comprendre à l'égard d'une contrée où le changement d'objets est si rare, qu'un oiseau, par exemple, ne peut appercevoir du haut des airs où il vole une troupe de cavaliers dans une plaine éloignée, sans faire un certain cri à cette occasion, qu'un homme appliqué peut remarquer & distinguer d'un autre, formé par rapport à un autre sujet. L'Histoire de l'Hégiage est fameuse en ce genre, & ne contient rien qui ne paroisse probable selon cette explication, quoiqu'il s'y trouve des circonstances extraordinaires. Il s'en faut beaucoup néanmoins que je voulusse conclure de cette histoire, que les animaux ont réellement un langage intelligible à des hommes qui en auroient fait une étude. Tout ce que je prétends se réduire à établir, que certains objets peuvent exciter dans les betes certains mouvemens, ou de certaines articulations, qu'un homme solitaire & attentif peut si bien observer, & se faire un tel usage de cette observation, qu'à l'occasion du même cri il reconnoitra quel est l'objet dont l'animal est frappé. p. 41, 42. *Ed. Am.* 1731. As to our Author's last Assertion, *that all the Relations in the Old Testament are plainly and simply exposed*, the Reader will find so much occasionally delivered, in the Progress of this very Section, concerning the Genius of Antiquity, and the Style of Scripture, as will shew this to be as worthy the Observer as all that preceded it.

“ For

“ For why shouldest thou meddle to thy Hurt;  
 “ that thou shouldest fall, even thou and Judah  
 “ with thee? ” Where we see plainly that this  
 satiric *Apologue* of the Thistle and Cedar were now  
 become a *Proverb*.

III. But as *Speech* improved into an *Art*, the  
*Apologue* was contracted into a *SIMILE*. *Closeness*  
 as well as *Brevity* was here consulted; for now the  
 Subject itself being still kept in Sight, there was  
 no need, as in the *Apologue*, of a formal Applica-  
 tion: And how easily the *Apologue* slid into the  
*Similitude*, we may see by the following Passage of  
*Jeremiah*, which being between both these Forms  
 of Speech, communicates of either's Nature: *The*  
*Lord called thy Name a green Olive Tree, fair and*  
*of goodly Fruit: With the Noise of a great Tumult*  
*be hath kindled Fire upon it, and the Branches*  
*of it are broken* &c. This way of speaking by  
*Simile*, we may conceive to answer to the *Chinese*  
*Marks* or Characters in *Writing*; and as from such  
 Marks proceeded the abbreviated Method of *Al-*  
*phabetic Letters*, so from the *Similitude*, to make  
 Language still more expedite and elegant, came  
 the *METAPHOR*; which is indeed but a *Similitude*  
 in little: For Men so conversant in matter still  
 wanted sensible Images to convey abstract Ideas.  
 The Steps by which the *Similitude* was contracted  
 into the *Metaphor*, may be easily traced by a care-  
 ful Reader of the *Prophetic Writings*; there being  
 no Mode of Speech more common than that com-  
 pounded of both; where the *Simile* is just about to  
 be forsaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In  
 this manner are God's Judgments denounced against  
 the King of *Affyria*: “ Therefore thus saith the  
 “ Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in

\* 2 KINGS xiv. 9, 10.

† Chap. xi. y 16.

“ height

“ height, and he hath shot up his top amongst the  
 “ thick Boughs, and his Heart is lifted up in his  
 “ height; I have therefore delivered him into the  
 “ Hand of the mighty one of the Heathen:—and  
 “ Strangers, the terrible of the Nations, have cut  
 “ him off, and have left him: Upon the Moun-  
 “ tains and in all the Valleys his Branches are fal-  
 “ len, and his Boughs are broken by all the Ri-  
 “ vers of the Land, and all the People of the  
 “ Earth are gone down from his Shadow, and have  
 “ left him. Upon his Ruin shall all the Fowls of  
 “ the Heaven remain, and all the Beasts of the  
 “ Field shall be upon his Branches. To the end  
 “ that none of all the Trees by the Waters exalt  
 “ themselves for their height, neither shoot up  
 “ their Top amongst the thick Boughs.”

Thus we see the *common Foundation* of all these various Modes of *Writing* and *Speaking*, was a *Picture* or *Image*, presented to the Imagination thro’ the Eyes or Ears; which being the simplest and most universal of all kinds of Information, (the first reaching where the arbitrary Characters of an Alphabet could not be deciphered, and the latter where abstract Terms were not comprehended,) we must needs conclude them to be the natural Inventions of Necessity.

And here it may not be amiss to repeat an Observation made before, that the primitive and more *simple way* of Expression, whether in *Writing* or *Speaking*, did not always strait grow into Disuse on the Invention of a more *improved manner*. Thus we see in *Scripture* the way of *Speaking* by *Actions* was still used after the Introduction of the *Apologue*, and the *Apologue* after that of the *Similitude* and *Metaphor*: And so again in *Writing*; the first and

2 EZEK. xxxi. 10, & seq.

simplest *Hieroglyphics* continued to be used in *Egypt*, as we shall see, long after the Refinement of them into those more artful ones called *Symbolical*; and *these*, after that further Improvement into *Characters* resembling the *Chinese*, and even after the Invention of *Letters*.

But how, as in these several Modes of *Speech*, so in the several Forms of *Writing*, Men made a Virtue of Necessity, and turned that into Mystery and Ornament, which had its Birth from Poverty, and was brought up in Simplicity and Plainness, is to be our next Enquiry.

## II.

It is now, I presume, apparent, that the hitherto undisputed Opinion of ancient and modern Writers, that the *Egyptians* INVENTED *Hieroglyphics* to conceal their Knowledge, and render it *mysterious*, is altogether without just Foundation. However, as it is very certain this People did, at length, EMPLOY *them* to such Purpose, it will be proper to examine how that happened; how one of the simplest and plainest Means of Instruction that ever was contrived, came to be converted into one of the most artificial and abstruse.

To support what we have to offer on this Head, with proper Authority, it will be necessary to give the Reader two important Passages from *Porphyry* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, concerning the several Kinds of *Egyptian Writing*, and their several *Natures*. Hereon we shall regulate our Discourse; which will, in its turn, contribute to illustrate these Passages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly understood.

But to form a right Judgment of them, I shall first deliver in general, the several Kinds and *Natures* of *Egyptian Writing*, according to the Order  
of



of time in which each was invented and improved ; and for the Truth as well as Explanation of the Account, refer the Reader to the whole of the Discourse.

The *Egyptian Writing* was of four Kinds : The first **HIEROGLYPHIC**, and this twofold ; the more *rude* called *curiologic*, and the more *artificial* called *tropical* : The second **SYMBOLIC**, and this likewise twofold ; the more *simple*, and the more *mysterious* ; that *tropical*, this *allegorical*. These two Kinds of writing, namely the *Hieroglyphical* and the *Symbolical*, (which went under the generic Term of *Hieroglyphics*, distinguishd into *proper* and *symbolic Hieroglyphics*) were not composed of the *Letters* of an *Alphabet*, but of *Marks* or *Characters* which stood for *Things*, not *Words*. The third **EPISTOLIC**, so called, as we shall see, from its being first applied to *Civil Matters* : And the fourth and last **HIEROGRAMMATIC**, from its being used only in *Religious*. These two last Kinds of *Writing*, namely the *Epistolic* and *Hierogrammatic*, stood for *Words*, formed by the *Letters* of an *Alphabet*.

Having premised thus much, we come now to the Passages in question. *Porphyry* speaking of *Pythagoras* tells us : That *he sojourned with the Priests in Egypt, and learnt the Wisdom and the Language of the Country, together with their three Sorts of Letters, the EPISTOLIC, the HIEROGLYPHIC, and the SYMBOLIC ; of which the HIEROGLYPHIC expressed the Meaning of the Writer, by an Imitation or Picture of the thing intended to be expressed ; and the SYMBOLIC, by allegorical Enigmas*<sup>a</sup>. *Clemens* is larger and more explicite : Now

<sup>a</sup> — Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι Γνωτὴ, καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ φωνῇ. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρεῖς αἰσθησάς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογικῶν καὶ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορικῶν κατὰ τινὰς

those who are instructed in the Egyptian Wisdom learn first of all the Method of their several Sorts of Letters; the first of which is called *EPISTOLIC*; the second *SACERDOTAL*, as being used by the sacred

αἰνισμός. *De Vita Pythagoræ*, cap. xi, & xii. p. 15. Ed. Kusteri. *Holstenius* translates τὸ μὲν κοινολογημάτων καὶ μίμησιν, τὸ δὲ ἀλληγορημάτων κατὰ τινὰς αἰνισμούς, in this manner: — “*Quorum illud proprium & communem loquendi consuetudinem imitatur; reliqua per allegorias sub quibusdam ænigmatum involucris sensum exprimunt.*” By which, it seems, he understood τὸ μὲν κοινολογημάτων καὶ μίμησιν to be an Explanation of the Nature of *Epistolary Writing*; and τὸ δὲ ἀλληγορημάτων κατὰ τινὰς αἰνισμούς, of the Nature both of *Hieroglyphic and Symbolic*; whereas the first Words are an Explanation of *Hieroglyphic Writing*, and the second only of *Symbolic*. For *Porphyrus* having named three Kinds of Writing, the first common to all People; the two other peculiar, at that Time, to the *Egyptians*; when he comes to speak of their Natures, he judiciously omits explaining the *Epistolary*, which all the World knew, and confines his Discourse to the *Hieroglyphic and Symbolic*. But was it, as *Holstenius* thought, that he explained the Nature of the *Epistolary* in the Words τὸ μὲν κοινολογημάτων &c. then has he entirely omitted the *Hieroglyphic*, (for the τὸ δὲ ἀλληγορημάτων &c. relates only to the *Symbolic*) which had been an unpardonable Fault. But that this is *Holstenius's* Mistake is further seen by the next Passage from *Clemens Alexandrinus*: For what *Porphyrus* calls *Hieroglyphical and Symbolical*, *Clemens* calls *Hieroglyphical*; using *Hieroglyphical* as a generic Term, which *Porphyrus* used as a specific. *Clemens*, I say, giving an Account of the Nature of *Hieroglyphic Writing*, tells us it was of two Sorts; the one ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and simply imitates the thing intended to be represented*; by this he meant the proper *Hieroglyphic*, (which *Porphyrus*, in his *Enumeration* of the Kinds, distinguishes from the *Symbolic*,) and what is more, seems to have borrowed his Expression of *κυριολογεῖται καὶ μίμησιν*, from *Porphyrus's* τὸ μὲν κοινολογημάτων καὶ μίμησιν, by which this latter, as we say, meant to express the Nature of the proper *Hieroglyphic*. Besides, *Clemens*, who gives the Nature of *Epistolary Writing*, with the same Judgment that *Porphyrus* omitted giving it, describes it in a very different manner, and with great Propriety, thus, ἥ ἐστιν ἡ πρώτη ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned Writer, supported by the Authority of *Holstenius*, which served his Purpose in an Argument for the low Antiquity of *Egypt*, would persuade us that *Porphyrus* did not mean by the Expression κοινολογημάτων καὶ μίμησιν, that the Characters be

*Scribes*;

Scribes; the last and most perfect Kind HIEROGLYPHICAL. Of these different Methods the one is in the plain and common way of Writing by the first Elements of Words, or Letters of an Alphabet; the

spoke of imitated the Forms or Figures of the Things intended by them; FOR that was not the *μίμησις*: which the ancient Writers ascribed to LETTERS. [Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connect. vol. ii. p. 296.] This Argument is a *Petitio Principii*; namely, that Porphyry is indeed here describing Epistolary Writing. On this Supposition the learned Writer says, that the Imitation of the Forms or Figures of Things, is not the *μίμησις* the ancient Writers ascribed to Letters. Certainly it is not. But Porphyry, we say, is not speaking of Letters, but of Hieroglyphic Figures; therefore *μίμησις* does, and may (because it is the literal Sense of the Word) mean Imitation of the Figure of Things. However, let us consider his Criticism on this Word, tho' it makes so little to his Purpose: — Socrates in Plato says, it seems, *ὅτι ἀλλὰ τὴ συντάξαι τὴ καὶ γεγραμμένων τὴ δόξαν τὴ ποσότητων* ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ: and the Ancients, the learned Writer tells us, were exceeding philosophical in their Accounts of both Words and Letters: When a Word or Sound was thought fully to express, according to their Notions, the Thing which it was designed to be the Name of, then they called it the *εἰκὼν*, or Picture of that Thing. The Ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his School; but if a plain Man may be believed, all the Mystery of *μίμησις* and *εἰκὼν* was simply this, Alphabetic Letters, as we have observed, sprung from Hieroglyphic Characters; and even received their Form from thence. Now the Ancients, as was very natural, when they spoke of the Power of Letters, and of Words composed of them, frequently transferred, to these, the Terms *μίμησις* and *εἰκὼν*, which properly belonged to Hieroglyphic Characters: A plain Proof of this is the very Word *ἀπμιμῶμαι*, quoted by the learned Writer from Plato; which literally signifies, to imitate from an Exemplar, but figuratively, to express, at large: So *πλαίσμα* originally signified any thing formed and fashioned by Art, traductively, a Similitude in Speech, nay the musical Modulation of the Voice. — There is a remarkable Passage in Plutarch's Discourse of the Pythian Prophets; no longer rendering her Prophecies in Verse; where the Word *πλαίσμα* is generally thought to be used in the first of these traductive Senses, but I think it is to be understood in the second; speaking of the ancient manner of delivering the Oracles, he says. — *οὐκ ἐν ᾠδῶν, εἰδὲ λυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ᾠδῇ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μεταφορῶν ἐνοματων, καὶ μετ' αὐλῆς.* —

other by SYMBOLS. Of the Symbolic way of Writing, which is of three Kinds, the first is that plain and common one of imitating the Figure of the Thing represented; the second is by tropical Marks; and the third, in a contrary way of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the first Sort, namely, by a plain and direct Imitation of the Figure, let this stand for an Instance: — to signify the Sun, they made a Circle; the Moon, a half Circle. The second, or Tropical way of Writing, is by changing and transferring the Object with Justness and Propriety<sup>b</sup>: This they do sometimes by a simple Change, sometimes by a complex multifarious Transformation; thus they leave engraved<sup>c</sup> on Stones and Pillars the Praises of their Kings, under the Cover of theologic Fables. Of the third Sort, by Enigmas, take this Example: The oblique Course of the Stars occasioned their representing them

Mr. Le Clerc, [*De Prophetia* p. 18. tom. iv. *Comm. in V. T.*] translates the latter Part thus, — *pedibus vineta, tumida, quæstis & tralaticiis verbis constantia, & cum tibia pronunciata.* But *πλάσμα* signifies here, not *quæstis verbis*, but that Modulation of the Voice which we may call *placida confirmatio*, and is opposed to *ῥίσι*, a contrary Modulation of the Voice, which we may call *gravis confirmatio*. These two were used in the Theatre (to which this Matter is compared) in a Kind of Recitative on the Flute: So that what *Plutarch* would say, is this, that the ancient Oracles were not only delivered in *Verse*, in a pompous figurative Style, but were sung likewise to the Flute. To *ῥίσι* and *πλάσμα* he opposed *ἀνῆδωκεν*, in the Sense of *untunable*; and to *μεταφορεῖς ὀνομάτων*, — *λίλῳ*, plain, simple.

<sup>b</sup> κατ' οἰκειότητα μετὰ γούλες καὶ μετὰ ἡθύνες. That is, as I understand it, by representing one thing by another, which other hath Qualities bearing Relation or Analogy to the thing represented.

<sup>c</sup> ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτὰ τῶν ἀναγλύρων. The Latin Translator keeps close to his Original, *Anaglyphicis describunt*; and Stanley, [*Lives of Phil.* p. 350. Ed. 3<sup>d</sup>.] they write by *Anaglyphics*; as if this was a new Species of writing, now first mentioned by *Clemens*, and to be added to the other three: Whereas, I suppose, it was the Father's Intention only to tell us that the tropical Symbols were chiefly to be met with on their Stone Monuments; which was true.

by

by the Bodies of the Serpents; but the Sun they likened to a Scarabæus, because this Insect makes a round Ball of Beast's Dung, and rolls it circularly, with its Face opposed to that Luminary<sup>d</sup>.

Ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους παροδύομενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γράμματων μέθοδον ἐμμανθάνουσι, τῇ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλεομένην; δὲ δὲ τῇ ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ἢ ἡρώων τῇ οἱ ἱερογλυμματεῖς ὑστέραν τῇ τελεολογίαν, τῇ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ. ἥς ἡ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη γοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική· ἡ δὲ συμβολικὴς ἡ μὲν κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ μίμησιν· ἡ δὲ ὡς περ τετραγώνως γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται καὶ τινὰς αἰνιγμῶς. Ἡλιοι γὰρ γράφονται βελόμοι, κύκλοι ποιοῦσι. Σελήνη δὲ, ἡ γῆμα μύθοις, ἡ δὲ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδός· τετραγώνως δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητά μετὰ γοιχείας καὶ μετὰ λιθίνους τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττονται. τὰ δὲ, πολλὰ καὶ μετὰ ἀντικρυς γοιχείας, χαρτέτιον· τὰς γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογούμενους μύθοις ἐκδοδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀναγλύφων· ἡ δὲ ἡ δὲ τὰς αἰνιγμῶς, τρέψαντες, δειγμάτων ἕως τῶν, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄσπερον, ἡ δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ λοξῇ, ὅπως σώμασιν ἀπείκασον· τῇ δὲ ἡ δὲ τῇ κανόνα· ἐπεὶ δὲ κυκλιότερες οἱ τῇ βεῖας ὄντων ἡ γῆμα πλάσσειν, ἀντικρυς κυλινδεῖ. Strom. lib. v. p. 555, 556. Ed. Morell. — ἥς ἡ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη γοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική, the Latin Translator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem est per prima elementa κυριολογική, id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est per signa significans*. This is so faithfully translated that it preserves the very Ambiguity of the Original, and leaves us still to guess at the Author's Division. *Marshall* takes it just wrong, and so does his Nephew *Stanley*: The first of these learned Men quotes and translates the Passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Aegyptios characterum ratio, Ἐπιστολογραφική, ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris; ἱερική, qua utuntur ἱερογλυμματεῖς, qui de rebus sacris scribunt; et ἱερογλυφική, sacra sculptura; HUIUS duae sunt species, Κυριολογική, proprie loquens per prima elementa, ἡ Συμβολική, per signa*. [*Can. Chron.* p. 38. *Franeq. Ed.*] The second thus, — *the last and most perfect, Hieroglyphical; WHEREOF one is Curiologic, the other Symbolic*. [*Lives of Phil.* p. 329. 3<sup>d</sup> Ed.] By this Interpretation, the learned Father is 1. made to enumerate three Kinds of Writing, but to explain only the last, namely *Hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worse, he is made to say one Kind of *Hieroglyphics* was by Letters of an Alphabet; for that is the Meaning of ἡ πρώτη γοιχείων: 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide *Hieroglyphics* into two Sorts, *Curiologic* and *Symbolic*; and *Symbolic* into three Sorts, *Curiologic*, *Tropical*, and *Allegorical*; which makes the prior Division into *Curiologic* and *Symbolic*, inaccurate and absurd; and

H 3

Thus

Thus these two ancient *Greeks*: But being both in the general Mistake concerning the *Original* of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, it is no Wonder their Accounts of them should be inaccurate and confused. The first Mistake common to both, and the natural Consequence of that false Principle, is making the *Epistolary Writing first*, in order of time<sup>c</sup>,

spreads a strange Confusion over the whole Passage. Their Mistake seems to have arose from supposing *μεθόδοι ιερογλυφικῆς* (the immediately preceding Subject,) was understood at *ἢς ἡ πρώτη ἐστὶ*; whereas it was the more remote Subject, *μεθόδοι Αἰγυπτίων γεγραμμάτων*; and what made them suppose this, was, I presume, the Authors expressing the common plain way of writing by Letters of an Alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by Figure, two very different Things by the same Words, *κρυπτολογικὴ* and *κρυπτολογεῖν*); not considering that *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων*, joined to the Adjective, signified writing by Letters; and *ἐξ μίμου*, joined to the Verb, writing by Figures. In a Word then, the plain and easy meaning of *Clemens* is this, — the Egyptian Method of writing was Epistolical, Sacerdotal, and Hieroglyphical; of this Method, the Epistolical and Sacerdotal were by Letters of an Alphabet, the Hieroglyphical by Symbols: Symbols were of three Kinds, Curilogical, Tropical, and Allegorical.

<sup>c</sup> This was indeed a very logical Conclusion from the Opinion that Hieroglyphics were invented to hide Mysteries; but so improbable in Fact, that it should have led them, one would think, to the Falshood of the Premises. — That the Egyptians had Letters before Hieroglyphics seems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they walked; and, I believe, will seem so to all who consider the first Part of this Dissertation. However, a learned modern Writer has taken up that Opinion; and tells us, in plain Terms, that the Hieroglyphical way of writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt; [*Connect. of the Sac. and Prof. Hist.* vol. i. p. 230. and again to the same Purpose, vol. ii. 293, 294.] partly, I presume, as it favoured the Hypothesis of the low Antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in Compliment to that consequential Notion, that not only all Arts and Sciences came from the Hebrews, but all the Vehicles of Knowledge likewise; whence, particularly, the Author of the Court of the Gentiles derives Hieroglyphics, — The greatest Pieces of the Jewish Wisdom, says he, were couched under the Cover of Symbols and Types; whence the Egyptians and other Nations borrowed their Hieroglyphic and Symbolic Wisdom. [Part i. p. 77.] — But what Probability does the learned Author of the Conne-

which

which was indeed the *last*. For that this was their Sentiment appears from Clemens's calling *Hieroglyphic Writing* ὑσώτην ἢ τελευταίαν, *the last and most perfect Kind*. The second Inaccuracy common to both is, that they reckon up but *three* Sorts of Writing when there were indeed *four*; as is discoverable even from their own reckoning: *Por-*

*tion* pretend for his Opinion? This, that *Letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: But surely not so ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uses is certainly a very unlucky one: — *There is one Consideration more, says he, which makes it very probable that the use of Letters came from Noah, and out of the first World, and that is the Account which the Chinese give of their LETTERS. They assert their first Emperor, whom they name Fohy, to be the Inventor of them; before Fohy they have no Records, and their Fohy and Noah were the same Person.* [vol. i. p. 236.] Now it happens that the *Chinese* remain without Letters, even to this Day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our Author ignorant of the Nature of the *Chinese* Characters; for he tells us soon after, that *the Chinese have no Notion of Alphabetical Letters, but make use of Characters to express their Meaning. Their Characters are not designed to express Words, for they are used by several neighbouring Nations who differ in Language.* [p. 242.] Thus the learned Writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove *Letters* of higher Antiquity than *Hieroglyphics*, hath proved just the contrary; namely, that *Hieroglyphic* Characters, not *Letters*, were the *Writing* so early as *Noah*: For the *Chinese* Characters are properly *Hieroglyphics*, that is, *Marks for Things, not Words*; which is of the Essence of a *Hieroglyphic*; and accordingly these *Chinese* Marks are so called by all the Missionarie, from whom we have any authentic Accounts of *China*. But had these Characters been indeed *Letters*, as our Author, in this Place, by Mistake supposed them, yet still his Argument would have had no Weight; and I will beg leave to say why: The *Chinese* Characters in present use are very modern in Comparison of the Monarchy. The Missionaries tell us (as may be seen by the Quotations given above) that the *Chinese* Character has undergone several Alterations; that their first way of Writing was like the *Mexican*, by *Picture*; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the most ancient *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*; and at length brought it, by many gradual Improvements, to its present contracted Form: Yet a *Hieroglyphic* it still is; and so is likely to continue.

phyry counting *Epistolic*, *Hieroglyphic*, and *Symbolic*; *Clemens*, *Epistolic*, *Sacerdotal*, and *Hieroglyphical*; the first leaving out *Sacerdotal*, which the second supplies; and the second *Symbolic*, which the first supplies. Their other Mistakes are peculiar to each: *Clemens* errs most in enumerating the several Sorts; and *Porphyry* in explaining their several Natures.

This latter Writer names the three Sorts, *Epistolic*, *Hieroglyphic*, and *Symbolic*; and this was not much amiss, because the fourth, the *Hierogrammatic*, or *Sacerdotal*, not differing from the *Epistolic* in its Nature, but only in its Use, he comprized, we may suppose, *that* under *this* generic Term: But when he comes to explain the Nature of the *Symbolic*, which is performed two Ways, *tropically* and *allegorically*, he quite omits the *first*, and insists only on the *latter*.

*Clemens*, on the other hand, gives us *these* three Kinds, the *Epistolic*, the *Sacerdotal* or *Hierogrammatic*, and the *Hieroglyphical*. Here *Epistolic* is used as a *specific* Term, and *Hieroglyphical* as a *generic*; just contrary to *Porphyry*, who, in his Enumeration, employs them the other way: But then, as to their Nature, *Clemens* says, *the Epistolic and Sacerdotal were by Letters of an Alphabet, and the Hieroglyphic by Symbols*: The first Part of the Explanation is exact. We have observed that *Porphyry* judiciously omits explaining *Epistolary* Writing, as supposing it to be well known: But *Clemens*, who adds to *Epistolary*, *Sacerdotal*, a way of Writing tho', like the *Epistolary*, by an Alphabet, yet being confined to the use of the Priests not so well known, he with equal Judgment explains their Nature: But the latter Part of his Account which says *Hieroglyphic* Writing was by *Symbols*, making *Symbolic*, which is a specific Term,

to



to be equivalent to *Hieroglyphical*, which he uses generically, is a miserable Mistake; and see the Consequence; he proceeds to explain *Symbolic* as a generic Term, into three Sorts, *Curiologic*, *Tropical*, and *Allegorical*; which makes a direct Contradiction: τὴν Συμβολικὴν, says he, ἢ μὲν κεκοινογραφίαν καὶ μιμήσιν, *the first Kind of Symbolic Writing is by a plain and simple Imitation of the Figure of the Thing intended to be represented*; which is directly contrary to the very Nature of a Symbol, which is the Representation of *one thing* by the Figure of *another*. Thus, for Instance, it was the Bull *Apis*, and not the Picture or Image of *Osiris*, that was his *Symbol*; Clemens therefore, we conceive, should have said, — *Hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *symbolically*; that the *Curiologic Hieroglyphics* were by *Imitation*, the *Symbolic* by *Conversion*; and that, of this *Conversion*, there were two kinds, the *Tropical* and *Allegorical*; and then all had answered to his foregoing Division: For the rest, he explains the Nature of *Curiologic* and *Symbolic Hieroglyphics* with sufficient Exactness; save that the first Instance he gives of *Allegoric Symbols* seems to belong to the *Tropical*.

Thus we see how these Writers contribute to the correcting one another's Mistakes. — What is proper for the further clearing up their Accounts, which, obscure as they are, are the best that Antiquity affords us, shall be occasionally considered as we go along.

Let us next examine how *Hieroglyphics* came to be employed for the *Vehicle of Mystery*.

I. The *Egyptians* in the Beginnings of their Monarchy wrote, like all other infant Nations, in a kind of universal Character by *Picture*; of which rude *original Essays*, we have yet some Traces remaining amongst the *Hieroglyphics* of *Horapollo*; who

who tells us, that the ancient *Egyptians* painted a *Man's two Feet in Water* to signify a *Fuller*<sup>f</sup>, and *Smoke ascending upwards* to denote *Fire*<sup>g</sup>: But to render this rude Invention less incommodious, they soon devised the more artful way of putting one Figure for the Mark or Representative of several Things; and thus made their *Picture* an *HIEROGLYPHIC*.

This was the first Improvement of that rude and barbarous manner of recording Mens Ideas, and was practised in a twofold manner; the one more *simple*, by putting the principal Part for the whole; the other more *artificial*, by putting one thing, of resembling Qualities, for another. The first Species was the *CURIOLGIC HIEROGLYPHIC*, the second the *TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC*; the *latter* of which was a gradual Improvement on the *former*; as appears both from the Nature of the Thing, and the Records of Antiquity: Thus the *Moon* was sometimes represented by a *half Circle*, sometimes by a *Cynocephalus*<sup>h</sup>; the *Overflowings of the Nile*, sometimes by overflowing *Waters in Heaven and Earth*, sometimes by a *Lion*<sup>i</sup>, (a *Hieroglyphic*, we may suppose, invented after they had learnt a little Astronomy;) a *Judge* sometimes by a *Man without Hands, holding down his Eyes*<sup>j</sup>, to denote the Duty of being unmoved by Interest or Pity; sometimes by a *Dog near a Royal Robe*<sup>k</sup>; for they had a Superstition that a Dog, of all Animals, was only privileged to see the Gods; and it was an old Custom for their Judges to behold and examine their Kings naked: Now in all these Instances we see the first *Hieroglyphic* is *Curiological*, the second *Tropical*.

<sup>f</sup> *Horapollon* lib. i. cap. 65.

<sup>g</sup> l. ii. c. 16.

<sup>h</sup> l. i. c. 14.

<sup>i</sup> *Idem*, l. i. c. 21.

<sup>k</sup> *Plutarch*, *If. & Osir.* — *Diad.*

*Sic.* lib. i.

<sup>j</sup> *Horap.* l. i. c. 40,

The

The Egyptians therefore, as we say, employed the *proper Hieroglyphic* to record openly and plainly their Laws, Policies, public Morals, and History; and in a Word, all kind of Civil Matters.

1. That these were the only Subjects on which the *proper Hieroglyphic* was employed, is seen from those sole remaining Monuments of ancient Egyptian Wisdom, the OBELISKS. That very ancient one of *Rameffes*, now standing before the Pontific Palace in *Rome*, and first erected to adorn the City of *Heliopolis*, is full of *Hieroglyphic* Characters; these *Hermapion* translated into Greek, Part of which is preserved by *Ammianus Marcellinus*; whereby it appears that the Writing on this Obelisk contained only a Panegyric on *Rameffes*, and a History of his Conquests. But this was not the Subject of one only, but of all the ancient Obelisks in general. We have already seen what *Clemens Alexandrinus* has observed to this Purpose. *Diodorus* says that *Sesoftris* erected two Obelisks of very durable Stone, each twenty Cubits high; on which he engraved the Number of his Forces, the Particulars of his Revenue, and a Catalogue of the Nations he had conquered<sup>m</sup>. At *Thebes*, *Strabo* tells us, there were certain Obelisks with Inscriptions recording the Riches and Power of their Kings, and the Extensiveness of their Dominion, stretching into *Scythia*, *Bactria*, *India*, and the Country now called *Ionis*; together with the multitude of their Tributes, and the number of the Soldiery, which consisted of a Million of Men<sup>n</sup>; And *Proclus* assures us, That the

<sup>m</sup> δύο ὃ λίθους Ὀβελίσκους ἐν τῷ σκληρῷ λίθῳ, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἑποιοῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιγράψαι τι, τε μέγεθος τ' δυνάμειος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τ' δεξιμὴν τῶν κατὰ πολεμικὰ ἔργα ἔργων. lib. i. p. 37. S. E.    <sup>n</sup> — ὅς τ' ταῖς θήκαις ἐπὶ τιναν Ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφὰς δεῦναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τότε βασιλείων, καὶ τ' ἐπικρατεῖαν, ὡς μέχρις Ἐκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτριῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῶν Ἰωνίας διατείναντες καὶ φόρων πλῆθος, καὶ γενεῶν παρὰ ἱκανὸν μυριάδας. l. xvii.

Egyptians recorded all singular Events, memorable Actions, and new Inventions on Columns, or stone Pillars°. But Tacitus is more particular than the rest; for speaking of Germanicus his Voiage into Egypt, and Curiosity in examining its Antiquities, he says: *Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; & manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jussusque è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamfen Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque & Persis, & Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum. Quasque terras Syri Armenique & contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur & indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti & auri, numerus armorum equorumque, & dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti & omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haut minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana jubentur*†. And to obviate at once all the Cavils of Kircher against this concurrent Testimony, we shall observe, in the last Place, that it receives the fullest Confirmation from the excellent Treatise of Horapollon, which consists chiefly of the *ancient and proper Hieroglyphics*; all of which relate entirely to *Civil Life*, and are quite unfit to be employed in the abstruse Speculations of Philosophy and Divinity.

2. That the Subjects of the *proper Hieroglyphic* were plainly and openly delivered, appears from that celebrated Inscription on the Temple of *Minnerva* at *Sais*, so much spoken of by the Ancients;

° Αἰγυπτίοις ὅ ἐστι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα ἂν τὴ μνήμης αἰεὶ νῆα πάρεστιν· ἢ ὁ μνήμης, διὰ τὴ ἰσορίας· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ γένεσιν τοῖς ἀποδοξα, καὶ τὰ θαύματα ἀξία τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν ποσέσιν, εἴτε ἐν ἀρίσταιν. *Procl. in Timæum, i. p. 31. f.*

† *Annal. lib. ii.*

where

where an Infant, an old Man, a Hawk, a Fish, and a River-Horse, expressed this moral Sentence, *all you who come into the World, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate Impudence.* The excellent *Stillingsfleet*, who was in the common Opinion that the *Egyptians* invented *Hieroglyphics* to *secrete* their profound Wisdom, and that this Inscription at *Sais* was Part of it, pronounces Sentence from this Pattern, on all their *mystical* Learning in general: — “Certainly (says he) this kind of Learning deserves the highest Form amongst the *difficiles Nugæ*; and all these Hieroglyphics put together, will make but one good one, and should be for — *Labour lost*.” But there might be much Knowledge in their *mystical Learning*, whatever becomes of the *Hieroglyphical* Inscription at *Sais*; which was indeed no Part of that Learning, but a plain and public Admonition in the proper *Hieroglyphic*, to be read and understood by the People, as appears evidently from the Place where it was engraved, namely the *Vestibule* of a public Temple.

And here KIRCHER’s visionary Labours would have deserved one’s Pity, had he discovered in any of his enormous Volumes upon this Subject, the least Regard to Truth or Likelihood. This learned Person had collected a Fact from Antiquity, which its concurrent Attestation will not suffer us to call in question, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and secret Wisdom to the Seal of Hieroglyphics.* Egyptian Wisdom then was judged a Matter of such Moment with our Jesuit, that he would needs attempt a thorough Discovery of it, without duly considering whether any of the Monuments of that Wisdom were yet in

1 Orig. Sac. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 79.

being;

being; much less reflecting that the same Antiquity which tells us they had this profound Wisdom, tells us too, that it was all collected in their Sacerdotal Books; (which no one doubts to have been long since lost) and that the ancient Monuments of Stone still remaining, were Records of another Nature. However, fired with the Glory of a Discoverer, what he could not find, he would invent. The Foundation of his System are some late Greek Writings, used in Conjunction with the earliest Egyptian Hieroglyphics. Those Writings indeed pretended, (but we have confuted that Pretension<sup>1</sup>) to old profound Egyptian Wisdom; but these Hieroglyphics constantly disclaimed it: For all this he would needs drag them in to vouch for his Visions; and Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus, and Pliny, their Interpreters, he has treated as Impostors<sup>2</sup>, who would prompt them to deny what they knew. With these he sets to work; and it is pleasant to see him labouring thro' half a dozen Folios with the Writings of late Greek Platonists, and the forged Books of Hermes, which contain a Philosophy not Egyptian, to explain and illustrate old Monuments not Philosophical. — Here then we leave him to course his Shadow of a Dream thro' all the fantastic Regions of Pythagoric Platonism; and proceed in our Discourse.

II. Thus far went the two Species of the proper Hieroglyphic; which, in its last Stage of the Tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to speak) they having this in common, that each

<sup>1</sup> See Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. B. iii. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in one Place he expresses himself: — Plerique fere Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium secuti, Obeliscos non nisi historicas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati sunt; quod tamen falsum esse, ex dictis luce meridiana clarius patet. p. 269, 270. of his Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii.

repre-

represented one Thing by another; in this they differed, that the *Tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge, the *Tropical Symbol* to secrete: For all the several Modes of Writing by Things having had their progressive State, from less to more Perfection, they easily fell into one another: So that there was but little Difference between the *proper Hieroglyphic* in its last State, and the *Symbolic* in its first.

For this Method of contriving *Tropical Hieroglyphics*, by *similar Properties*, would of itself produce Refinement and nice Enquiry into the more hidden and abstruse Qualities of Things; which meeting at the same Time with a Temper now much turned to Speculation \* on Matters of Theology and Philosophy, would naturally introduce a new Species of *Zaographic Writing*, called by the Ancients *SYMBOLIC*, and employed for *SECRECY*, which the high Speculations conveyed in it required, and for which it was well fitted by the *Quaintness* of its Representations.

As the *proper Hieroglyphics* were of two kinds, *Curiological* and *Tropical*, so were *SYMBOLS*; the more natural, simply *TROPICAL*; the more artificial, *ENIGMATICAL*.

I. *TROPICAL Symbols* were made by employing the more unknown Properties of Things; the Quality was sometimes used for the Sake of a fanciful Resemblance; as a *Cat* stood for the *Moon*, because they observed the Pupil of her Eye to be filled and enlarged at the full Moon, and to be contracted and diminished during its Decrease \*; sometimes it

\* Τάωντο, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅθεν προσαγορεύουσι, Ὀφία διενεχάν. ὡς δὲ τοῖς Φοίνεσι, περὶ τὰ κ' ἑ. διείδοντες ἐν τ' ἑ χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἔμπειραν διέβην. *Sanch. apud Euseb. Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.* \* αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῆς κέκεται πληρωθεῖς μὲν καὶ πλησιωθεῖς δοκέειν ἐν παντοίῃ, λεπτωθεῖς δὲ καὶ μαρμαγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειράσις ἔσται. *Plut. de Is. & Os.*

was founded on the *Natural History* of an Animal ; as a Serpent represented the Divine Nature, on account of its great Vigour and Spirit, its long Age and Revirefcence<sup>x</sup>. How easily the *Tropical Hieroglyphic* fell into the *Tropical Symbol*, we may fee by the following Instances : *Eternity* was fometimes expreffed by the Sun and Moon, fometimes by the *Bafilisk*<sup>y</sup> ; *Egypt*, fometimes by the Crocodile, fometimes by a burning Center with a Heart upon it<sup>z</sup> : Where the Simplicity of the firft Representation, in each Instance, and the Abftrufeneff of the latter, fhew that the one was a *Tropical Hieroglyphic* for *Communication* ; the other a *Tropical Symbol* invented for *Secrecy*.

2. ENIGMATIC Symbols were formed by the myfterious Affemblage of different Things, as in the *Caduceus* ; or of the Part of different Animals, as in a Serpent with a Hawk's Head<sup>a</sup> ; or of Things and Animals together, as in a Serpent with a Hawk's Head in a Circle<sup>b</sup> : The Change of the *Tropical* into the *Enigmatical Symbol*, is feen in this Instance, to fignify the Sun they fometimes<sup>c</sup> painted a *Hawk*, which was *Tropical* ; fometimes a *Scarabeus with a round Ball in its Claws*, which was, as we fee in *Clemens*, of the *Enigmatic* kind. Thus immensely different became at length, though by the moft infenfible Degrees, thefe Characters, properly called *Enigmatic Symbols*, from thofe properly called *Curiologic Hieroglyphics* : To conceive this Difference let the Reader caft his Eye on two the moft celebrated *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* employed to denote the *Universal Nature* ; the one is the Figure commonly called *Diana Mul-*

<sup>x</sup> *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10.      <sup>y</sup> *Horapollon* l. i. c. 1.

<sup>z</sup> l. i. c. 22.      <sup>a</sup> *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 10.

<sup>b</sup> *Id. ib.*      <sup>b</sup> *Horapollon* l. i. c. 6.

*timammia* ;



*timammia*<sup>d</sup>; the other is a *a winged Globe with a Serpent issuing from it*<sup>e</sup>; the first; which is in the very simplest Taste, is a *Curilogic Hieroglyphic*; the other mysterious Assemblage, an *Enigmatic Symbol*: But, under the first Figure we must take Notice that the *universal Nature* was considered *physically*, under the latter *metaphysically*; agreeably to the different Genius of the Times in which each was invented.

But this was not all. The *Egyptian Hieroglyphic*; in passing from an Instrument of open Communication to a Vehicle of Secrecy, suffered another and more remarkable Change. We have observed before, that the early *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* resembled, in this, the *Mexican*, that what Things had bodily Form were represented by Figures, what

<sup>d</sup> This Hieroglyphic likewise signified the *Earth*; for the first rude Mortals imagined, that that which *sustained* them was the Deity who gave them *Being*. So *Hesiod*, who took his Notions of the *Earth* from the *Egyptians*, describes her after their Paintings; ΓΑΙ' ΕΥΡΥΣΤΕΡΝΟΣ, which the Figure of the *Diana Multimammia* well explains. But our *British Homer*, who, as a great Writer observes, had *immediately from Nature what those two Greek Poets received through Egyptian Strainers*, paints this famous *Hieroglyphic* with much greater Life and Spirit,

“ Common Mother thou!

“ Whose Womb unmeasurable and INFINITE BREAST

“ Teems and feeds all.”

That *Hesiod* had there the *Egyptian* Goddesses in his Mind, is plain from the Character he gives of her in the Words subjoined,

πάντων ἔδ' ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

Ἀθανάτων,

for the *Earth* was the first Habitation of those Gods which *Greece* borrowed of the *Egyptians*: From whence, as the Poet insinuates, they were transferred into Heaven.

Γαῖα δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἰγείνατο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ  
 Οὐρανὸν αἰσχρογύν', ἵνα μιν πᾶσι πάντε' ἀνέκ' ἀνέκ' ἀνέκ'  
 Ὀρε' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖσις ἔδ' ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

<sup>e</sup> See the *Bembine Table*.

had not, by Marks or Characters. And this we find verified in the most ancient of the *Egyptian Obelisks* yet remaining. The Reader need but cast his Eye into *Kircher*, to see how exactly those Hieroglyphics resembled in this Matter the *American*, published by *Purchas*: But when now every Thing was directed to Secrecy and Mystery, *Modes* as well as *Substances* were painted by *Images*: Thus *Openness* was expressed by a Hare<sup>f</sup>, *Destruction* by a Mouſe<sup>g</sup>, *Uncleanness* by a wild Goat<sup>h</sup>, *Impudence* by a Fly<sup>i</sup>, *Knowledge* by an Ant<sup>k</sup>, *Aversion* by a Wolf<sup>l</sup>, *Anger* by a Cynocephalus<sup>m</sup>, &c. And to make the matter still more mysterious, one Animal was made to represent many and very contrary *moral Modes*; thus the *Hawk* signified Sublimity, Humility, Victory, Excellence<sup>n</sup>, &c. On the contrary, and for the same Reason, one Thing was represented by many and various *Hieroglyphics*; sometimes for an Addition, out of Choice, to confound the Vulgar; sometimes for a Change, out of Necessity, when a Hieroglyphic by long or frequent use was become known to them.

Now the Ancients, though they saw *this* to be a different Species of Writing from the *proper Hieroglyphic*, and accordingly, as we find by *Porphry*, distinguished them into two Kinds, *Hieroglyphical* and *Symbolical*, yet confounding their Original, in supposing both invented out of Choice, have not accurately distinguished either their different *Natures* or *Uses*: They took it for granted that the *Hieroglyphic* as well as *Symbol* was a *mysterious Representation*; and what was worse, a Representation of *Speculative Notions* in Philosophy and Theology, whereas it was only used in public and open Wri-

<sup>f</sup> *Horapollon* l. i. c. 26.<sup>g</sup> c. 50.<sup>h</sup> c. 49.<sup>i</sup> c. 51.<sup>k</sup> c. 52.<sup>l</sup> l. ii. c. 22.<sup>m</sup> l. i. c. 14.<sup>n</sup> l. i. c. 6.

tings,



*Part of one side of the Florentine Obelisk. From Würther.*



tings, to register their Civil Policy and History; Mistakes that have involved this whole Subject in infinite Confusion.

But it is now Time to speak of an Alteration, which this Change of the Subject and Manner of Expression made in the *DELINEATION* of *Hieroglyphic Figures*. Hitherto the Animal or Thing representing was drawn out *graphically*; but when the Study of Philosophy (which had occasioned *Symbolic Writing*) had inclined their Learned to write much, and variously, that exact Manner of Delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous; they therefore by degrees perfected another Character, which we may call the *Running Hand* of Hieroglyphics, resembling the *Chinese* Characters, which being at first formed only by the Outlines of each *Figure*°, became at length a kind of *Marks*. One natural Effect that this *Running-Hand Character* would, in Time, produce, we must not here omit to speak of; it was this, that its use would take off much of the Attention from the *Symbol*, and fix it on the *Thing signified* by it; by which means the Study of *Symbolic Writing* would be much abbreviated, there being then little to do, but to remember the *Power* of the *Symbolic Mark*; whereas before, the Properties of the Thing or Animal, used as a *Symbol*, were to be learnt: In a Word, it would reduce this Writing to the present State of the *Chinese*. This *Running Character* was properly what the Ancients call *HIEROGRAPHI-*

° A very notable Specimen of this hasty Delineation of the Outlines of the Figures (which gave Birth to the *Running Hand* Character we are here speaking of) the Reader will find in *Kircher*, p. 350. of his *Oedip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. where he has given the Characters on the *Florentine Obelisk*, which though dignified by that Title, is only a late Mimic in Miniature of the superb Monuments called by that Name.

CALP, and was in Time used in Works of the same Subject with that of the ancient *Hieroglyphic*, as we may see by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt* <sup>9</sup>,

P The Account which a Missionary Jesuit gives us of the several Sorts of Writing amongst the *Chinefe* will illustrate this Matter: — *Parmi ces caractères il y en a de plusieurs sortes. Les premiers ne sont presque plus d'usage, & on ne les conserve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les seconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les Inscriptions publiques: quand on en a besoin, on consulte les livres, & à la faveur des Dictionnaires il est facile de les déchiffrer. Les troisiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers & plus beaux, servent dans l'impression & même dans l'écriture ordinaire. Néanmoins comme les traits en sont bien formez, il faut un temps considerable pour les écrire; c'est pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrième espece d'écriture, dont les traits plus liez & moins distinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'écrire plus vite — ces trois derniers caractères ont entre-eux beaucoup de ressemblance, & repondent assez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impression, & à l'écriture ordinaire.* — *Nouveaux Memoires sur l'état present de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte, tom. i. Amst. 1698, p. 258-9.* And here I cannot but take Notice of a ridiculous Mistake the learned Baxter fell into, through the Equivocalness of the Word *Notæ*, which signified as well *Short Hand* Characters, as *Hieroglyphical*. This Man, in a Letter to his Friend [*Gloss. Ant. Rom. p. 414: ed. 1731.*] undertaking to give the Original of *Short Hand Characters*, rejects the Account of the Ancients, (which makes them a *Roman* Invention) to fetch them from the *Barbarians*; and will have them to be indeed the same as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the *Egyptians* (mentioned by *Apuleius*) and the present *Chinefe* Characters; that is, real *Hieroglyphics*. But had he considered that the *Notes of Short Hand* were Marks for *Words*, and the *Notes of Hieroglyphics* Marks for *Things*, he would have seen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of quite different Original, and employed to as different Ends: He thinks, however, he has found a Support for his Notion, in St. *Jerom*, who, he says, tells us somewhere or other, that they came from the *Barbarians*: *Restant adhuc NOTÆ, quæ cum ex Barbarorum putu ortu natæ sint, rationem amiserunt.* But without searching for the Place, and recurring to the Context, we may safely pronounce that St. *Jerom* meant here by *NOTÆ*, not the *Notes of Short Hand*, but *Hieroglyphic Notes*; by his saying of them *rationem amiserunt*; which was not true of *Short Hand Notes*, but exactly so of *Hieroglyphical*.

<sup>9</sup> *Philos. Trans. No 161. p. 624.*

tells

tells us, there are yet some ancient Monuments remaining of this kind of Writing: — “ The *Franks* (says he) “ call these Pillars *Aguglia’s*, and the *English*, in particular, *Cleopatra’s Needles*; but the “ Inhabitants content themselves with the general “ Name of Pillars: They have no Bases or Pedestals above ground; and if they ever had any, “ they must needs be very deep in the Earth. The “ Hieroglyphic Characters wherewith they are engraven are probably the aboriginal *Egyptian* Letters, long become obsolete, and they resemble the “ *Chinese Characters*, each whereof represents a “ Word, or rather an entire Sentence; besides they “ seem to be written the same Way, namely from “ Top to Bottom.” *Apuleius*<sup>r</sup>, speaking of his *In-*

<sup>r</sup> *Metamorphosis*, lib. ii. — Nor is this a slight Authority, tho’ taken from a Book which, even from its first Appearance, hath had the Character of a trifling Fable. *Capitolinus*, in *Clodius Albinus*, tells us, that *Severus* could not bear with Patience the Honours which the Senate had conferred on *Albinus*; especially the distinguishing him with the Title of *Learned*, who was grown old in the Study of old Wives Fables, such as the *Milesian-Punic* Tales of his Countryman and Favourite *Apuleius*. *Major sinit*, (says *Severus*, in his Letter to the Senate, on this Occasion) *dolor quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique duxistis, quum ille nœniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apuleii sui & ludicra literaria consensesceret*. That poor, modern spirited Critic, *Macrobius*, talks too of *Apuleius* in the same Strain: *Fabulæ quarum nomen indicat falsi professionem, aut tantum conciliandæ auribus voluptatis aut adhortationis quoque in bonam frugem gratia repertæ sunt, auditum mulcent; velut comœdiæ; quales Menander ejusve imitatores agendas dederunt: vel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta; quibus vel multum se Arbitrè exercuit, vel APULEIUM nonnunquam luisse miramur*. *Hoc totum fabularum genus, quod solas aurium delicias proficitur, è sacrario suo in nutricum cunas sapientiæ tractatus eliminat*. [lib. i. cap. 2.] However, he seems, we see, to wonder that *Apuleius* should trifle at this rate; and well he might: for the Writer of the *Metamorphosis* was one of the gravest and most virtuous Philosophers of his Age. But *Albinus* appears to have gone further into the Character of the Philosopher, and his Work, than his

initiation into the Mysteries of *Isis*, describes the *Sacred Book* or Ritual, (which we find was wrote partly in *Symbolic*, and partly in these *Hieroglyphic*

Rival *Severus*. And if we may believe *Marcus Aurelius*, who calls *Albinus* — *homo exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus*, [*Capit. in Claud. Alb.*] he was not a Man to be taken with such trifling Amusements as *Milesian Fables*. His Fondness, therefore, for the *Metamorphosis* of *Apuleius*, shews he considered it in a very different light; and who more likely to be let into the Author's true Design, than one who, living so near his Time, was of *Adrumetum*, in the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*, where *Apuleius* sojourned, studied, and was distinguished with public Honours? The Work is indeed of a very different Character from what those Ancients have represented it, and from what some modern Critics have pretended to discover of it. The Ancients, who stuck in the outside, considered it without Refinement, as an idle Fable. The Moderns, who could not reconcile a Work of that Nature to the Gravity of the Author's Character, have supposed it a general Satire on the Vices of those Times: *Tota porro hæc Metamorphosis Apuleiana* (says Mr. *Fleuri*, in his *Ed. in Us. Del.*) *Est stylo Est sententia, Satyricum est perpetuum, ut recte observavit Barthius Advers. lib. li. cap. 11. in quo magica deliria, sacrificulorum scelera, adulterorum crimina, furum Est latronum impunitæ factiones palam differuntur*. But we shall shew that the Author's Design was not to satirize the peculiar Vices of his Time, but to recommend *Pagan Religion* as the only Cure for all Vice in general.

To give what we have to say its proper Force, we must consider the Character of the Writer. *Apuleius*, of *Madaura* in *Africa*, was a determined *Platonist*; and, like the *Platonists* of that Age, an inveterate Enemy to *Christianity*. His superstitious Attachment to *Paganism*, is seen in his immoderate Fondness for their MYSTERIES. He having been initiated, as himself tells us, into almost all of them, and, in some, born the most distinguished Offices; particularly in his Apology before the Proconsul of *Africa*, he thus expresses himself: — *Vin' dicam, cujusmodi illas res in sudario obvolutas, Laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi geretur. Sacrorum pleraque initia in Græcia participavi. Eorum quædam signa Est monumenta tradita mihi à sacerdotibus sedulo conseruo. Nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico, vel unius Liberi Patris Symmystæ, qui adestis scitis, quid domi conditum celetis, Est absque omnibus profanis tacite veneremini*. At ego, ut dixi, multi-juga sacra & plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias, studio veri & officio erga Deos didici. *Nec hoc ad tempus compono: sed abhinc*

Characters,



Characters, exactly resembling the *Chinese*,) in this manner: — “*de opertis Adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujus-*

*ferme triennium est, cum primis diebus quibus Oceam venerem, publice differens de Æsculapii majestate, eadem ista præ me tuli, & quot sacra nossem percensui. Ea disputatio celebratissima est; vulgo legitur; in omnium manibus versatur; non tam sacundia mea, quam mentione Æsculapii religiosis Ocenfibus commendata. — Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri potest, cui sit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis Deum conscium quædam sacrorum crepundia domi adservare?* [Apologia 1, p. 505-6. Ed. Vulcanii, Lut. Par. 1601, 12<sup>mo</sup>.] That his Attachment to the open Worship of Paganism was not inferior to the *Secret*, is seen by the following Words of the same Apology: — *Morem mihi habeo, quoquo eam, simulacrum alicujus Dei inter libellos conditum gestare; eique diebus festis ture & mero & aliquando victimis supplicare.* [p. 513.] This great Devotion therefore to Paganism must needs have been attended with an equal Enmity to Christianity; and I more than suspect that the Oration he speaks of as made in Honour of *Æsculapius*, was in the Number of those Invectives so much then in Fashion, which, he tells us, was in every body's hands, a thing common to Discourses on Subjects in vogue, but rarely the Fortune of such stale Ware as mere Panegyrics on a God long worn into an Establishment; not, I say, to insist upon this, we may observe that *Æsculapius* was one of those ancient Heroes, [See *Cy-rill. cont. Julian.* l. vi.] who were employed, by the Defenders of Paganism, to oppose to *Jesus*; and the Circumstances of his Story made him the fittest indeed, of all fabulous Antiquity, for that Purpose. *Ovid*, who lived before these Times of Danger to the Pagan Deities, has yet made *Ochirrœe* prophecy of the future Growth of the Infant *Æsculapius* in such a Strain, as all the way presented to his excellent Translator the Image of the true Physician of Mankind; which has enabled him to give a Sublime to his Version that quite discredits the Original.

*Ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furor,  
Incluitque Deo, quem clausum pectore habebat;  
Aspicit infantem, totique salutaris orbi  
Cresce, puer, dixit: tibi se mortalia sæpe  
Corpora debebunt: animas tibi reddere ademptas  
Fas erit. Idque semel dis indignantibus ausus,  
Posse dare hoc iterum flamma prohibebere avita:  
Eque deo corpus fies exsangue; deusque  
Qui modo corpus eras: & bis tua fata novabis.*

OVID.

*cemodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes*; PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS

Once as the sacred Infant she survey'd,  
The God was kindled in the raving Maid,  
And thus she utter'd her prophetic Tale:  
“ Hail, great Physician of the World, all hail;  
“ Hail, mighty Infant, who in Years to come,  
“ Shalt heal the Nations and defraud the Tomb:  
“ Swift be thy growth, thy Triumphs unconfin'd!  
“ Make Kingdoms thicker, and increase Mankind.  
“ Thy daring Art shall animate the Dead,  
“ And draw the Thunder on thy guilty Head:  
“ Then shalt thou die. — But from the dark Abode  
“ Rise up victorious, and be twice a God.

ADDISON.

Having seen what there was in the common Passion of his *Sex*, and in his own peculiar Mode of *Superstition*, to indispose *Apuleius* to *Christianity*; let us examine what *personal* Provocation he might be supposed to have to prejudice him against it; for I am persuaded a private Repentment against one of *this Profession*, did not a little contribute to inflame his Bigottry: He had married a rich Widow against the Will of her first Husband's Relations; who endeavoured to set aside the Marriage, by proving him guilty of Sorcery in the engaging her Affections. Of this he was judicially accused by his Wife's Brother-in-law, *Licinius Æmilianus*, before the Proconsul of *Africa*; and the Accuser, if I am not much mistaken, was a *Christian*; tho' none of the Commentators, that I know of, have taken Notice of so remarkable a Circumstance. However, let us hear the Character *Apuleius* himself gives of his *Party*: — *Atqui ego scio nonnullos, & cum primis Æmilianum istum, facetiæ sibi habere, res divinas deridere. Nam, ut audio, præcensentibus iis qui istum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit; nullum templum frequentavit. Si sanum aliquod prætereat, NEFAS HABET ADORANDI GRATIA MANUM LABRIS ADMOVERE. Iste vero nec Diis rurationis, qui cum pascunt ac vestiunt, segeteis ulla aut vitis aut gregis primitias impartit. — Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, ut jam dixi, ob oris & animi diritatem: sed alterum, quod LIBENTIVS AUDIT, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius. [Apol. i. p. 506-7.]*

— 1. The Charge of Atheism and Irreligion was, we know, the commonest Calumny on the Christians of that Time, for their renouncing the whole Family of the Gentile Gods together: And that the Atheism of *Æmilianus* was of this kind,

API-

APICIBUS, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita. He that would see the *Hierographic* Characters here described, may find them in almost every *Compart-*

and no philosophical Impiety, appears from his Character. He was, as *Apuleius* himself informs us, very far from a Courtier, (who are frequently indeed without a Religion) even a mere Rustic in his Life and Manners; but such plain Men never want some Religion or other; *Æmilianus* then not being of the *established*, was consequently a *Christian*. 2. His Contempt for the Country Gods was not merely a negative Neglect; he gloried in the Title given him on that Account, — *alterum, quod libentius audit, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius*; a further Mark of his Christianity. 3. Nay, he even held it an *Abomination* to put his Hand to his Lips as he passed by a Heathen Temple, according to the Mode of Adoration at that Time, *nefas habet adorandi gratia manum labris admove*; the very Characteristic of a *primitive Christian*, by which he could never be mistaken or overlooked.

The bitter Aversion, therefore, that *Apuleius* had contracted to his Christian Accuser, would, without doubt, increase his Prejudice to that Religion.

Let us see then how this would influence his Writings.

There was nothing the Philosophers of that Time had more at Heart, especially the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, than the Support of sinking Paganism. This Service, as we have occasionally taken Notice of, they performed several Ways: Some by *allegorizing their Theology*; some by *spiritualizing their Philosophy*; others by *writing the Lives of the Heroes of their Sects*, such as *Pythagoras* and *Apollonius Tyanæus*, in opposition to that of *Christ*; and others again by *recommending the most important Rites of Paganism*: which last, as we shall now shew, was the Province undertaken by *Apuleius*; his *Metamorphosis* being nothing else but one entire Recommendation of their so celebrated MYSTERIES.

But to give what we have to say the greater Evidence; let us

1. Enquire into the Motives our Author might have for entering into the Defence of Paganism at all.

2. His Motives for chusing this Branch of the Defence; *the Recommendation of the Mysteries*.

1. As to his entering into the Defence of Paganism in general, we may observe, 1. That Works of this kind were then very much in vogue, especially amongst the Philosophers of our Author's Sect. 2. He was, as we have seen, most superstiti-

ment

ment of the *Bembine Table*, between the larger human Figures; and on several of the Obelisks, disposed in the same manner: And as in the *Ritual*

ously devoted to Pagan Worship; and 3. Bore a personal Spite and Prejudice to the Christian Profession.

2. As to making the Defense of the *Mysteries* his Choice, still stronger Reasons may be given: 1. These were the *Rites* to which he was so peculiarly devoted, that he had initiated himself into all the Mysteries of Name in the *Roman World*; in several of which he had born the highest Offices. 2. The *Mysteries* being at this Time become extremely corrupt, and consequently in *Discredit*, needed a zealous and able Apologist for their Support; both which Qualities eminently met in *Apuleius*. The Corruptions were of two kinds, *Debaucheries* and *MAGIC*: Their *Debaucheries* we have taken Notice of before. Their *MAGIC* was of three kinds: 1. The Magic of Invocation, or *Necromancy*. 2. The Magic of Transformation, or *Metamorphosis*. 3. And the Magic of divine Communication, or *Theurgy*. The *Shews* of the *Mysteries* seem to have given birth to the first; the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* taught therein, to the second; and the *ἀποθένηαι* concerning the Divine Nature, to the third. The Abomination of the two first sorts, was seen and frankly confessed by all; but the espousal of the latter by the late *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* kept it in some Credit; so that, as *Heliodorus* [*Hist. Æthiop.* lib. iii.] tells us, the *Egyptian* Priests affected to distinguish between the Magic of *Necromancy*, and the Magic of *Theurgy*; accounting the first infamous and wicked, but the last very commendable. But 3. Our Author's great Attachment to *Mysterious Rites* was, without doubt, the very thing that occasioned all those Suspicions, Reports, and Accusations of Magic, which have render'd his Story so celebrated; and, considering what hath been said of the corrupt State of the *Mysteries*, the Reader will not wonder that it should. Such then being the general Character, as well of the *Mysteries*, as of this their great Devotee; nothing was more natural than to project their *Apology*; which, at the same time that it concurred to the Support of Paganism in general, would vindicate *his own Reputation*, together with an Institution of which he was so immoderately fond: For that his *Metamorphosis* was written after his *Accusation*, is evident from his Accusers never once mentioning this Fable to support their Charge of *Magic*; tho' there are so many Places in it favouring the Accusation, when viewed only in that light in which his Contemporaries themselves, as we have seen, were disposed to regard it.

of

of *Apuleius*, we find *this* Character mixed with the *Symbolic*, so in the *Bembine Table* we find *it* mixed both with the *Proper Hieroglyphic* and *Symbolic*.

Now Antiquity considered *Initiation* into the *Mysteries* as a *Delivery from a living Death of Vice, Brutality, and Misery; and the Beginning of a new Life of Reason, Virtue, and Happiness*. [See the first Vol. Book ii. § 4.] This therefore was the very Circumstance of Recommendation which our Author wrote his whole Book to enforce.

And as in the *Mysteries* their moral and divine Truths were represented in *Shew* and *Allegory*, [*id. ibid*] so our Author, to comply with that *Method* of Instruction, has, with all the Decorum and Delicacy of Address, insinuated his Recommendation in an agreeable *Fable*; and that the most apposite we can possibly conceive; as will be seen when we come to an Examination of Particulars.

The Foundation of this *allegorical Tale* was a *Milesian Fable*, a Species of polite trifling then much in Fashion; and not very unlike our modern *Arabian Tales*. To allure his Reader therefore with the Promise of a fashionable Work: —

*Veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes  
Quum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum  
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,*

the Author introduces his *Metamorphosis* in this manner: *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias Fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benivolus lepidus susurro permulceam*; plainly intimating that there was something of more Consequence at bottom. But his *kind Readers* took him at his Word; and, from that Day to this, never troubled themselves about any further Meaning: The outside View pleased them sufficiently, as we may collect from the Name of *Asinus Aureus*, which they gave very early to the Work; unless we will rather suppose it to have been bestowed by the few intelligent Readers in the Secret. For, in Spite of the Author, a Secret it was, and so all along continued.

Upon one of these popular Fables he chose to ingraft his Work; taking a celebrated Tale from the Collections of one *Lucius of Patrae*; who relates his Transformation into an *Ass*, and his Adventures under that Shape. *Lucian* seems to have epitomized this Story, as *Apuleius* paraphrased it; and the *Metamorphosis*, which is the Foundation of it, admirably fitted his Purpose; as the *Metempsychosis*, to which that Superstition belongs, was one of the fundamental Doctrines of the *Mysteries*. [B. iii. § 3.]

The Fable opens with the Representation of a young Man,

III. And

III. And now this contracted manner of *Hieroglyphic* Writing called *Hieroglyphical*, will lead us, by an easy step, to the *third* Species, called by

figured under his own Person, immoderately fond of *Pleasure*, and curious of *Magic*. The Debaucheries and Extravagancies into which these Passions led him, soon ended in his Transformation to a *BRUTE*. This Contrivance of the introductory Part is admirable. It insinuates, *that Brutality attends Vice as its Punishment*; and Punishment by actual Transformation was keeping up to the popular Opinion. [See Vol. i. p. 354, & seq.] His making the Passion for *Magic* contribute to his Change into a *Brute* was likewise extremely artful, as it cleared both himself and the Mysteries from that Imputation; for by this it appeared that *Magic* was so far from being innocent, that it was attended with the severest Punishments; so far from being encouraged by the Mysteries, that they were they only which could relieve from the Distresses that a Passion for *Magic* brought upon its Followers, as was shewn in the Catastrophe of the Piece.

St. *Austin* permitted himself to doubt whether *Apuleius's* Account of his Change into an *Ass* was not a true relation: — *Sicut Apuleius, in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno humano animo permanente asinus fieret, AUT INDICAVIT aut finxit.* [Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 18.] I shall say nothing to the Extravagance of this doubt; but only observe from thence, that St. *Austin* took *Apuleius* to be debauched and given to *Magic*; yet, for all that, it is by no means conceivable that he who took so much pains, in a very serious and public way, to free himself from these Imputations should, afterwards, wantonly undo all he had so successfully done in support of a doubtful Reputation. But it may perhaps be said, that all this happening in his Youth, his subsequent *Initiations* might have reformed him; but neither will his Apology admit of this Supposition; there he publicly insists on the Virtue of his Youth; *De eloquentiâ vero* (says he) *si qua mihi fuisset, neque mirum neque invidiosum deberet videri, si ab ineunte ævo unis studiis litterarum ex summis viribus deditus, omnibus aliis spretis voluptatibus, ad hoc ævi, haud sciam an ne super omnes homines impenso labore, diuque noctuque, cum despectu & dispendio bonæ valetudinis eam quæsissem.* — *Quis enim me hoc quidem pacto eloquentior vivat? quippe qui nihil unquam cogitavi quod eloqui non auderem; eundem me aio facundissimum esse, nam omne peccatum semper nefas habui; eundem disertissimum, quod nullum meum factum vel dictum extet de quo differere publice non possim.* [p. 449, 450.] What have we then but to conclude that the Representation of himself in

*Porphyry*

*Porphyry* and *Clemens* the EPISTOLIC; for we have shewn how naturally those *running Characters* led to the compendious use of Letters by an ALPHA-

this *Fable*, under a debauched Character, is entirely *feigned*: But then is it likely that a grave and virtuous Philosopher should chuse to represent himself in the odious as well as false Light of a Magician and Debauchee, and take a Pleasure in particularizing the Horrors of that Character, in so lively a manner, merely to amuse and entertain a dissolute Set of Readers? we must needs then conclude further, that he assumed it only to carry on his *Allegory*; whose End was to recommend the *Mysteries*, as the certain Cure of all kinds of Vice; and as it was his Purpose to prescribe *Initiation* for an universal Remedy, it was natural for him to particularize the several Disorders. Let this then, as it is the best we can find, stand for some kind of Excuse in a wretched Pagan, for all the Horrors and Obscenities to be met with in his *Fable*.

But to proceed. Our Author having now shewn himself as merely *brutalized* by his Vices, goes on to represent at large the Miseries of that Condition, in a Detail of his Adventures; in the Course of which he fell, by turns, under the Dominion of every kind of vicious Character: And as it was the main Moral of his Piece to shew, *That pure Religion* (such as he esteemed pure) *was the only Cure for human Vices*; so to prevent this great Principle's being abused or mistaken, he takes Care to inform his Reader, *That an Attachment to superstitious and corrupt Religion does but plunge the wretched Followers into still greater Miseries*; and this he finely illustrates in the History of his Adventures with the Begging Priests of the Goddess *Cybele*; whose Enormities are related in the eighth and ninth Books; and whose *corrupt Mysteries* are designed as a Contrast to the *pure Rites of Isis*, the Description and Encomium of which conclude the *Fable*.

Matters growing still from bad to worse; and *Lucius* sinking deeper and deeper into the Miseries of Debauch; his Affairs come to a Crisis: For being now about to perpetrate (in the ninth Book) one of the most shocking Enormities, Nature, though so deeply sunk into the Brute, revolts; he abhors the Idea of his projected Crime; evades his Keepers; flies to the Sea Shore; and, in this Solitude, begins to reflect more seriously on his lost Condition. This is finely imagined, and altogether in Nature: For we sometimes see Men, even after a whole Life of Horrors, come suddenly to themselves on the hideous Aspect of some monster Vice, too frightful even for a corrupted Nature to embrace. Nor is it with less Judgment that the Author makes these Beginnings

BET;

BET; on which noble Invention the *Epistolic* Writing was formed. And this, let us observe, the Ancients agree was invented by the SECRETARY of

of Reformation confirmed by Solitude; when the unhappy Victim to his Pleasures has broke loose from the Companions and Partakers of his Crimes.

And now the full View of his desperate Condition necessitates him to fly to Heaven for Succour: The Moon is in its full Splendor, and the awful Silence of the Night inspires him with religious Sentiments: — *Video præmicantis Lunæ candore nimio completum orbem, commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus. Nactusque opacæ noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam summam Deam præcipua majestate pollere, resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi providentia, &c.* [p. 375.] He then purifies himself in the manner prescribed by Pythagoras; the Philosopher most devoted to Initiations of all the early Sages, as Apuleius of all the later. — *Septies submerso fluctibus capite, quod cum numerum præcipuè religioni aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit.* [*Ibid.*] He then makes his Prayer and addresses himself to the Moon, or ISIS; invoking her by her several Names of the Eleusian Ceres, the Celestial Venus, Diana, and Proserpine. [p. 376.] when betaking himself to Repose, she appears to him in a Dream, under that SHINING IMAGE so much spoken of by the Mystics. [See Vol. i. p. 321. 2<sup>d</sup> Ed.] *Necdum satis compresseram: & ecce pelago medio, venerandos Diis etiam vultus attollens, emergit divina facies; ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore PERLUCIDUM SIMULACRUM, excusso pelago, ante me constitisse visum est.* [p. 377.] In her Speech to him she gives this extraordinary Account of herself, exactly adapted to the Design of the Mysteries, and preparatory to the Communication of the *ἀπόκρυφα*. *En assum, tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum Natura Parens, elementorum omnium Domina, Sæculorum progenies initialis, Summa numinum, Regina manium, Prima cælitum, Dearum Dearumque facies uniformis; quæ Cæli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, Inferorum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso. Cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis — priscaque doctrina pollentes Egyptii cerimoniis me prorsus PROPRIIS percolentes appellant vero nomine Reginam Isidem.* [p. 378.] She then reveals to him the means of Cure. Her Festival was the following Day, when there was to be a Procession of her Votaries. The Priest who led it would have a Chaplet of Roses in his Hand, which had the Virtue to restore him to his former Shape. But as breaking through a Course of Vice is of all things most difficult, she encourages him in the following Words:

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an Egyptian King. A Circumstance that will much conduce to the Discovery of the Causes of its Original.

*Nec quidquam rerum mearum reformides, ut arduum : Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi venio simul & tibi præsens, quæ sunt consuetudine sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda præcipio, &c. p. 379.* insinuating hereby, what was taught in the Mysteries, that the Assistance of Heaven was always ready to second the Efforts of Virtue : But in return for this Favour of restoring him to Humanity, i. e. permitting him to Initiation, she tells him she expected the Service of his whole Life ; and this the Mysteries required : for which she would reward him with Elysium hereafter ; and this the Mysteries promised : — *Plane memineris, & penitentia conditum semper tenebis, mihi reliqua vitæ tuæ curricula, adusque terminos ultimi spiritus vadata. Nec injurium ; cujus beneficio redieris ad homines, ei totum debere quod vives. Vives autem beatus, vives in mea tutela gloriosus ; & cum spatium sæculi tui permansus ad inferos demearis ; ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semitotundo, me, quam vides Acherontis tenebris interlucentem, Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, campos Elysios incolens ipse, tibi propitiâ frequens adorabis, p. 380.*

Lucius is, at length, confirmed in his Resolution of aspiring to a Life of Virtue ; and, on this Change of Disposition the Author finely represents all Nature as putting on a new Face of Cheerfulness and Delight ; *Tanta hilaritudine præter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta videbantur ; ut pecna etiam cujuscumodi, & totas domos, & ipsum diem serena facie gaudere sentirem, &c. Ibid.*

And now the Procession, in Honour of Isis, begins : The Priest, or Hierophant of her Rites, leads up the Company of the Initiated, with a Garland of Roses in his Hand : Lucius approaches, devours the Roses, and is, according to the Promise of the Goddess, restored to his former Shape. The Garland plainly represents that with which the Aspirants were crowned at the Initiation ; as the Virtus of the Roses does the Mysteries. He had been told at his Transformation that Roses were to restore him ; so that, in the midst of his Adventures, he had still this Remedy in Mind ; and in a Circumstance of great Distress met with a Species of them called *Rosa laurea* ; but on examining its Nature he found, to his great Disappointment, that this Sort of Rose, instead of a Remedy, was a deadly Poison to all kind of Beasts, — *quarum cuncto pecori cibus letalis est.* By the *Rose-Laurel* then, we see, is meant all debauched, magical, and corrupt Mysteries ; such as those of the Syrian Goddess, whose Ministers he describes in so odious a light ; into whose Rites, Initia-

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For all kinds of *Hieroglyphic* Writing, wher employed in public Business to convey the Royal Commands to Leaders of Armies and distant Go-

tion was so far from promoting a Life of Virtue, that it plunged the deluded Wretch into still deeper Miseries.

As soon as *Lucius* had thus recovered his *Humanity* by *Initiation*, the Priest covered him, naked as he was, with a *Linen Cloth*: *Sed sacerdos, utcumque divino monitu cognitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis, quamquam & ipse insigni permotus miraculo, nutu significato prius, præcipit, tegendo mihi LINTEAM dari laciniam*, p. 386. For a Linen Garment was always bestowed on the Aspirant at his *Initiation*, of which Practice *Apuleius* himself, in his *Apology*, gives the Reason:—*Lana segnissimi corporis extrementum, pecori detracta, jam inde Orphei & Pythagoræ scitis; profanus vestitus est. Sed enim mundissima LINI seges, inter optimas fruges terra exorta, non modo indutui & amictui sanctissimis Ægyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque in rebus sacris usurpatur*, p. 506.

When all this was over, the Priest accosts him in the following manner:—*Multis & variis exantlatis laboribus, magnisque fortunæ tempestatibus, & maximis actus procellis, ad portum quietis & aram misericordiæ tandem, Luci, venisti. Nec tibi natales, ac ne dignitas quidem, vel ipsa, qua flores, usquam doctrina profuit: sed lubrico virentis ætutulæ, ad serviles delapsus voluptates, curiositatis improperæ sinistrum præmium reportasti. Sed utrinque fortunæ cæcitas dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam habitudinem improvida produxit malitia. Eat nunc, & summo furore sæviat, & crudelitati suæ materiam quærat aliam. Nam in eos, quorum sibi vitas servitium Deæ nostræ majestatis vindicavit, non habet locum casus infestus. Quid latrones, quid feræ, quid servitium, quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciproæ, quid metus mortis quotidianæ nefariæ fortunæ profuit? In tutelam jam receptus es fortunæ, sed videntis; quæ suæ lucis splendore ceteros etiam Deos illuminat. Sume jam vultum letiorem, candido isto habitu tuo congruentem; comitare pompam Deæ SOSPITATRICES, innovantigradu; VIDEANT IRRELIGIOSI; VIDEANT, ET ERROREM SUUM RECOGNOScant. En ecce pristinis ærumnis absolutus, Isis magnæ providentia gaudens *Lucius*, de sua fortuna triumphat.* p. 386, 387.

SEE HERE THE PLAIN MORAL OF THE FABLE DELIVERED AT LARGE; and in that, all that we have advanced, concerning the Purpose of the Work, fully confirmed.

We have observed that by his Return to his proper Shape was meant his *Initiation*; and accordingly that Return is called, as

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vernors, being found unavoidably attended with the Inconveniencies of imperfect and obscure Information: This, I suppose, set our *Secretary* on con-

*Initiation* was, the being born again, — *ut renatus quodammodo*, — and, — *sua providentia quodammodo renatos*. But it being much for the Author's Purpose to give the Particulars of that Rite at large, and the Decorum of the Fable not suffering it to be done in this Place, where *Initiation* is represented as the Restoration of a Man metamorphos'd; he was obliged to consider his *Restoration* and *Initiation* as two distinct Circumstances in the *Fable*, tho' they were one and the same in the *Moral*; and so represented, likewise, in the Account of their Natures: For as the returning to his proper Shape was called *Renatus*, so the Day of *Initiation* (according to the Fable) is called *Natalis*. — *Exhinc festivissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum*. — This being so, the Author makes the Priest take an Opportunity from the Benefit received, to press *Lucius* to enter into the Mysteries of *Isis*. — *Quo tibi tamen tutior sis, atque munitior; da nomen huic sanctæ militiæ, cujus non olim sacramento etiam rogaberis; teque jam nunc obsequio religionis nostræ dedica, & ministerii jugum subi voluntarium*; nam cum cœperis Deæ servire, tunc magis senties fructum tuæ libertatis, p. 387. Accordingly he is initiated. The Ceremony is described at large; and we find it exactly agreeing to the Representation given of it in the former Volume.

The Author first lets us understand, how that a virtuous and holy Life was principally required of those who entered into the *Mysteries*, in the Doubts and Apprehensions that retarded his *Initiation*: *At ego, quamquam cupienti voluntate præditus, tamen religiosa formidine renitebar. Quod enim sedulo percontaveram, difficile religionis obsequium, & castimoniarum abstinentiam satis arduam, cautoque circumspectu vitam; quæ multis casibus subiacet esse muniendam*, p. 390. These Difficulties got over, he is initiated with the accustomed Rites; he then makes his Prayer, in which the grand ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ of the *Mysteries* is plainly referred to: — *Tu quidem sancta & humani generis Sospitatrix perpetua, semper fovendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris affectionem miserorum casibus tribuis*: — TE SUPERI COLUNT, OBSERVANT INFERI; TU ROTAS ORBEM; LUMINAS SOLEM; REGIS MUNDUM; CALCAS TARTARUM: TIBI RESPONDENT \* SIDERA, GAUDENT NUMINA, REDEUNT TEMPORA, SERVIUNT ELEMENTA: TUO NUTU SPIRANT FLAMINA, NUTRI-

\* *Respondent sidera*. This, I suppose, relates to the *Music of the Spheres*: The Image is, I think, extremely noble; and taken from the *Consent* in the Strings of a Harp, to answer to and obey the Hand of the Master who had put them into Tune,

triving a Remedy, by the Invention of the Letters of an Alphabet; which he made serve to express *Words*, not *Things*; whereby all the Inconveniences so fatal on these Occasions, were avoided, and the Writer's Informations delivered with the utmost Clearness and Precision; which had this further Advantage, that as the Government would, without doubt, endeavour to keep their Invention

UNTUR NUBILA, GERMINANT SEMINA, CRESCUNT GERMINA: TUAM MAJESTATEM PERHORRESCUNT AVES COELO MEANTES, FERÆ MONTIBUS ERRANTES, SERPENTES SOLO LATENTES, BELUÆ PONTO NATANTES, p. 397.

This Affair being finished, the Author, in the next place, takes Occasion, agreeably to his own Practice and Opinions, to recommend a *Multiplicity of Initiations*. He tells us how *Isis* counselled him to enter into the Mysteries of *Osiris*; how, after that, she invited him to a third *Initiation*; and then rewarded him for his accumulated Piety with many temporal Blessings.

All this considered, who can any longer doubt but that the true Design of this Work was to recommend *Initiation into the Mysteries*, in opposition to the *New Religion*? We see, the *Catastrophe* of the Piece, the whole eleventh Book, entirely taken up with this matter, and composed with the greatest Seriousness and Superstition: In a Word, I think nothing could be better contrived to recommend the *Mysteries* than the Plan he has gone upon; which he has executed with great Address. This Interpretation will reflect new Light on every Part of the *Metamorphosis*, as the Reader will find on Examination. I have been so long on this Subject, that I have only Time to give him one Instance of the Truth of what I say: — In the *fifth* and *sixth* Books is a very long Episode of *Cupid* and *Psyche*, visibly allegorical throughout; and entirely foreign to all the rest of the Work in the common View of the *Metamorphosis*; yet, in *ours*, contrived with the utmost Beauty, and highly conducive to the Author's general Purpose: There was no Man, tho' he considered the *Metamorphosis* only as a Work of mere Amusement, but saw the Fable of *Cupid* and *Psyche* to be a *Philosophical Allegory of the Progress of the human Soul to Perfection, in the Possession of Divine Love, and the Reward of Immortality*. Now we have shewn at large, that the professed End of the *Mysteries* was to restore the Soul to its original Rectitude, and to encourage good Men with the Promises of a *happy Immortality*. The Fable therefore of *Cupid* and *Psyche*, in the *fifth* and *sixth* Books, was the finest and most artful Preparation for the Subject of the *eleventh*.

to

to themselves, *Letters of State* were, for some time, conveyed with all the Security of our modern *Cyphers*. And thus, being at first appropriated to this use, *Literary Writing* gained the Name of *EPISTOLARY*<sup>s</sup>; which if you will not allow, no reasonable Account, I think, can be given of its *Name*.

\* To this perhaps it may be replied, that *Literary Writing* had, in *Egypt*, the Name of *Epistolary*, for its being afterwards employed in such kind of Compositions; because *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatian*, (where he gives a List of some Inventors,) say, *That Atossa the Persian Empress was the first that wrote Epistles*; the latter from *Hellanicus* the Historian expresses himself thus: Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΙΝ ἔξευρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγεσαμένη γυνή, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἀτossa ἡ ὀνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. — To this we reply, that the Supposition of *Literary Writing*'s having the Name of *Epistolary* from any later Application of Letters to this sort of Composition, is very precarious: For it may be asked why rather a Name from *Epistles* than from any nobler sort of Composition, in which we must needs conclude Letters had been employed, before the use of *Epistles*, if *Epistles* were so lately invented? But the Truth is, if by *ἑωλόωσεν*, which Word *Clemens* likewise uses, we are to understand the *composing*, and not the *artificial closing and sealing up* of the Tablets in which the Ancients wrote their *Epistles*, (the more natural Sense of the Word, and an Invention more to a *courtly Woman's* Genius,) we must needs say the whole Story of *Atossa's* Invention is a very idle one, tho' becoming such Triflers as the Writers of the *Invention of Things*; from whence *Tatian* and *Clemens* had it: They might as well have enquired after the Inventors of *Eating and Drinking*; writing *Epistles* being as early as the Occasions of communicating the Thoughts at a Distance; that is, as early as human Commerce. We find in the *Il.* 5. 169. *Bellerophon* carrying an *Epistle* from *Prætus* to *Iobates*. No, says a great and excellent Critic, [See p. 539. of the *Dissertation upon Phalaris*.] this was no *Epistle*, as *Pliny* rightly remarks, but *Codicilli*; and *Homer* himself calls it *ῥιναῖς ὠλεκεῖς*. I do not comprehend the Force of the learned Person's Argument; the Point between him and his noble Adversary was concerning the *Thing*, not the *Name*; but *Pliny's* Observation, and his own, is concerning the *Name*, not the *Thing*. Let what *Bellerophon* carried be *ῥιναῖς ὠλεκεῖς*, *small Leaves of Wood covered with Wax, and written on by a Pen of Metal*, yet was it essentially an *Epistle*, if *Tully's* Definition of an *Epistle* be a true one: *Hoc est*, says he,

Thus the Reader at length finds that the very contrary to the common Opinion is the true ; that it was the *first Literary Writing*, not the *first Hieroglyphical*, which was invented for SECRECY. In course of Time, indeed, they naturally changed their use ; *Letters* became common, and *Hieroglyphics* secret and mysterious.

IV. But this *political Alphabet*, as we may call it, soon occasioned the Invention of a *sacred* one : For the Priests having a Share in the Government, without doubt had an early Communication of the Secret ; and being now immersed in deep Philosophy and Speculation, would naturally employ it in their hidden Doctrines. But its various Civil use not permitting it to continue long a Secret, when it ceased to be so, they would as naturally invent another for themselves : For Experience of its use, and the Necessity of a Method to convey abstract Speculations with Precision, would no longer suffer them to be without an *Alphabet* of their own, which from their Invention und Appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL. For,

That the *Egyptian* Priests had such a *sacred Alphabetical Character*, we are expressly assured by *Herodotus* : — “ The *Greeks* (says he) write their *Letters*, and make their Computations with Counters, from the left to the right ; the *Egyptians*, on the contrary, from the right to the left. — “ They use two Sort of *Letters*, one of which they

*Epistolæ proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorat, certior fiat.* Why *Pliny* said this *ἐπιστολὴ κωδικία* was not an *Epistle*, but a *Codicil*, was because small Leaves of Wood covered with Wax, when written on, were called by his Countrymen *Codicilli*, and a *Missive-Paper*, *Epistola* : That this was his Meaning appears from the Account he gives of the pretended *Paper-Epistle* of *Sarpedon* mentioned as a great Rarity by *Licinius Mucianus*. [See the *Dissert.* as above.]

“ call



“ call *sacred*, the other *popular*. ” *Clemens Alexandrinus* goes further, and describes the very Books in which this *sacred Alphabet* was principally employed; and as the Place where he does this is very curious, and contributes to the further Illustration of the Subject, we shall consider it the more largely. We have shewn that *Clemens*, in the Passage quoted above, understood what he called the *Sacerdotal*, *ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ*, to be an *Alphabetic Character*. Now the same Writer speaking in another Place\* of the *forty two Books of Hermes*, which contained all the Civil and Religious Science of the *Egyptians*, tells us that *ten* of these Books were called *Sacerdotal*, and were the particular Study of the Chief Priest, — *πρὸς ἁτῆς δ' ἱερᾶ τὰ ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ καλέμμεν* ἡ βιβλία ἐμμανθάνει. These ten, therefore, were wrote in a *sacred Alphabetic Character*; tho', as we learn from him in the same place, *all* the various kinds of *Sacred Characters* were employed in the Composition of these forty two Books; for some were wrote in *Hieroglyphics*; as he tells us where he speaks of the *Sacred Scribe*, whose Business it was to study those called *Hieroglyphical*, — *τῶν τὰ τε ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ καλέμμεν*. And, what is very remarkable, we find the Subject of these to be of a *Popular* and *Civil* Nature, such as *Cosmography*, *Geography*, the simple Elements of *Astronomy*, the *Chorography* of Egypt, the *Description* of the Nile<sup>w</sup>, &c. conformable to what we have laid down concerning the Use and Application of the

\* *Γράμματα γράφουσι, καὶ λογίζοντο ψήφοις, Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεργῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δ', ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀεργῶν. — διφασίοισι δ' ὑπογράμματα χερῶν.* καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱερὰ, τὰ δὲ, δημολικά καλεῖται. lib. ii. cap. 36.

<sup>v</sup> *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 633, 634.

<sup>w</sup> — *ὅτι τε τὴν κοσμογραφίαν, καὶ γεωγραφίαν, καὶ τάξεως τῆς ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τῶν πλανητῶν χωρογραφίαν τε τὴν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τὴν Νείλου ἀναγραφὴν.*

most early *Hieroglyphics*; others again of these Books were wrote in *Symbols*, particularly those *two* which the *Chanter* had in Care: — ὁ Ὡδὸς, ἐν τῇ ᾧ μυστικῆς ὑπερφερόμενος ΣΤΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ· τῶτον φασὶ δύο βίβλους ἀνελθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρμῆ. Here then we have all the *three Species* of *Sacred Writing*, the *Hieroglyphic*, the *Symbolic*, and the *Hierogrammatic* or *Sacerdotal*; the last of which, as we say, was by *Letters of an Alphabet*.

But an *ALPHABET* for Secrecy, and consequently different from the *common*, was a thing in use amongst the *Priesthood* of almost all Nations. *Philo Biblius*, in *Eusebius*, speaking of *Sanchoniatho's* History, tells us, that the Author composed it by the Assistance of certain Records which he found in the Temples written in *Ammonian Letters*<sup>x</sup>, not understood by the *Vulgar*: These *Ammonian Letters* *Bochart* explains to be such as the Priests used in sacred Matters<sup>y</sup>. *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, from *Thrasyllus*, that *Democritus* wrote two Books, the one of the *Sacred Letters* of the *Babylonians*, the other of the *Sacred Letters* of the City *Meroë*<sup>z</sup>:

<sup>x</sup> — ὁ ὅς συμβολῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων ἀρεθίστων ἀπκρύφους Ἀμμωνίαν γεγραμμένοι συσκευαίσι, ἃ ὅς σὺν ἡν πᾶσι γνώριμα. — *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 9.

<sup>y</sup> *Ammoniorum*, i. e. *Ammanim* — Abenezra in *LEVIT.* xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis.* Quod verissimum; Sol enim Hebræis est *amma* unde *amman* templum Solis, quem solum Cœli Dominum crediderunt prisca Phœnices. *Sanchoniathon*, τῶτον γὰρ (τὸ ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μοῖον ἑρμῆς κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen crescente superstitione crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuisse: Itaque *literæ Ammoniorum* seu *Ammanim* sunt literæ templorum, literæ in sacris receptæ. *Geogr. Sacr.* Par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 17.

<sup>z</sup> Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γεγραμμάτων· περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερῶν ἱερῶν γεγραμμάτων. In *Vit. Democr. Segm.* xlix. lib. ix. But *Reinesius* and *Menage* not apprehending there was any sacred mysterious Writing out of *Egypt* and its Confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but they should have

And

And concerning these last, *Heliodorus* says, that the *Ethiopians* had two Sort of Letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal resembled the *Sacerdotal* Characters of the *Egyptians*<sup>a</sup>. *Theodoret* speaking of the *Grecian Temples in general*, says that *these* had certain Forms of Letters for their own use, called *Sacerdotal*<sup>b</sup>; and *Fourmont*, and others, suppose that this general Custom prevailed amongst the *Hebrews* also<sup>c</sup>.

And now we shall know how to deal with a strange Passage<sup>d</sup> of *Manetho* in *Eusebius*: This Historian assures his Reader, “ that he took his Information from Pillars in the Land of *Seriad*, inscribed by *Thoyth* the first *Hermes*, with *Hieroglyphic Letters* in the *Sacred Dialect*; and translated, after the Flood, out of the *Sacred Dialect*, into the *Greek Tongue*, with *HIEROGLYPHIC LETTERS*, and deposited in Volumes by *Agathodemon*, the second *Hermes*, Father of *Tat*, in the *Adyta* of the *Egyptian Temples*.” The Original is in these Words: Ἐκ τῆς Μανεθῶς ἡ Σεβεννύτης, ὃς ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίης ἡ Φιλαδέλφης ἀρχιερέως τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδώλων, χρηματίσας ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Σηραδικῇ γῇ κειμένων σηλῶν ἱερῶν, Φησι, Διαλέκτῳ ἢ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κα-

reflected how unlikely it was, if *Democritus* had chose to write of the *Sacred Letters* of the *Egyptians*, that he should denominate them from a Place not at all celebrated for their use, when there were so many other that these Characters had rendered famous.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπελεγόμην τῶν ταυτίαν γραμμάτων Αἰθιοπικοῖς, ἢ δημοτικοῖς ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐσιγμένην, ἃ δὴ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ὠμοῖνται. lib. iv.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς Νοτοῖς ἴδιοι τινὲς ἦσαν χαρακτῆρες γραμμάτων, ὧς ἱΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΥΣ προσηγόρευον. In *Genes. Qu.* 61.

<sup>c</sup> Cette coutume de la plupart des nations Orientales d'avoir des Caracteres Sacres, & des Caracteres Profanes ou d'un usage plus vulgaire, étoit aussi chez les HEBREUX. *Reflex. Crit.* vol. i. p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> See *Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr.* Book i. chap. ii. § 11. and *Mr. Shuckford's Connections*, vol. i. Ed. 2. p. 247.

χαερκήηρισμῶν ὑπὸ Θωὸν ἔ πρώτῃ Ἑρμῆ καὶ ἐρμηνεύ-  
 θεισῶν μὲν τὸ καλακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς Διχαλίκης εἰς τὴν ἐκκη-  
 νίδα Φωνίῳ, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΙΕΡΟΓΑΤΦΙΚΟΙΣ, καὶ  
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*Stillingfleet* objects, with Reason, to the Absurdity  
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 Φωνίῳ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ὑποκεισῶν ἐν  
 βίβλοις, &c. — ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ;

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Chron. Ed. Scal. Am. 1658, p. 6.

<sup>f</sup> *Connection of the Sacred and Profane History*, Vol. i. p. 247,  
 and Vol. ii. p. 294.

in speaking of the Translation, being the very Words just before employed in speaking of the Original; and with exact Propriety: For *ιερογραφικά* was used by the Ancients as a generic Term, to signify as well *Sacred Letters of Words*, as *Sacred Marks of Things*; *ιερογλυφικά* not so, but denoting only Marks of Things: So that the plain and sensible meaning of the Passage is this: — That a Work, wrote by the first *Hermes*, in the *Sacred Dialect*, and *Sacred Letters*, was translated, by the second *Hermes*, into the *Greek Dialect*, the original *Sacred Letters* being still employed. And the Reason of this is evident; the *Greek Translation* was for the use of his own Countrymen the *Egyptians*: But such would be soonest invited to the Study of a foreign Dialect when written in their own Letters: a common Inducement for Translators into a foreign Language, to preserve the original Character: Besides, this Version was not for the *Egyptians* in general, but for the Priests only; and therefore their peculiar Character was preserved.

We now begin to see that the whole Extravagance in this Account, rejected by the Critics with so much Contempt, is only in the high Antiquity given to the *Fact*; and *this*, the very *Circumstance* of the Fact itself refutes: For it not only tells us of *Sacred Alphabetic Letters*, which we have shewn to be of late use amongst the *Egyptians*, but likewise of a *Sacred Dialect*, which certainly was still later; and, if I be not much mistaken, a Passage in *Herodotus* will lead us to the Time when this Translation was made: The Historian tells us, that when *Psammiticus*, by the Assistance of the *Ionians* and *Carians*, had subdued all *Egypt*, he placed these *Greek Adventurers* on both Sides the *Nile*, where he assigned them Lands and Habitations, and sent among them *Egyptian Youths* to be instructed in  
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<sup>e</sup> Euseb. Chron. Ed. Scal. Am. 1658, p. 6.

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the *Greek* Language, from whence sprung the State *Interpreters* for that Tongue<sup>s</sup>: Thus far the Historian; from whose Account of *Psammiticus's* Project it appears, that he was purposed to establish a constant Intercourse with the *Grecian* Nations. The Youth picked out for Interpreters were, without question, of the Priesthood, all Letters and Learning residing in that Order; which had likewise a great Share in the public Administration. And now the Priesthood having the *Greek* Tongue amongst them, which its use in Public Affairs would make them diligently cultivate; where was the Wonder that, about this time, some of these Interpreters, *Ἑρμηνέες*, should employ themselves in translating the Sacred *Egyptian* Records into the *Grecian* Language?

But then as to the precise Time of the Invention of *Egyptian* LETTERS it can never be so much as guessed at, and for this plain Reason, because Hieroglyphics continued still in use long after Letters had been found out, particularly on their public Monuments of Stone; which is the Reason we find none of these inscribed with any other Characters. However that Letters were very early, we have clearly shewn above, as well from other Circumstances, as from this, that the Invention of them was given to their Gods<sup>h</sup>.

Ἔ — Τοῖσι ᾧ Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Κασοῖ, τοῖσι συγκαλεσασαμένοισι αὐτῶν, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχ<sup>Θ</sup> δίδωσι χώρας ἐνοικῆσαι ἀνέλις ἀλλήλων, ἧ Νείλῳ τῷ μέσῳ ἔχοντι<sup>Θ</sup>. — καὶ δὴ πάντας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τῷ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκοντα<sup>δ</sup>. ἀπὸ ᾧ τέτων ἐμπαθόντων τῷ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ νῦν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγονόσι. *Euter.* l. ii. c. 154. Hence it appears that the excellent *Prideaux* was mistaken when he said, — *But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek; the Ptolemy first brought that Language amongst them.* — *Connections* Part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 60. of this Volume.

Those



Those who are for deriving all Civil Improvements from the Line of *Abraham*, bestow upon it this amongst the rest. But as it is a Fancy that only sticks out of the Tail of an Hypothesis, without any Countenance from Scripture, they differ much concerning the Time. Some suppose the use of Letters amongst the Patriarchs; and, by them, transmitted to the *Egyptians*; but there are such strong Objections to this Opinion, even from the Patriarch's sending *verbal* Messages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to send *written*, that others have thought fit to shift the Time to that of MOSES: When GOD, they say, taught him the use of Alphabetic Letters, in the Exemplar of the *two Tables*, wrote, as the Text assures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from Words that *at most* only imply the ten Commandments to be miraculously *written*, as well as *dictated*, it can be concluded Letters were then first taught Mankind, I have not Logic enough to find out. A common Reader would be apt to conclude from it, that Letters were now well known to the *Israelites*, as GOD thought fit to deliver the first Elements of their Religion in that kind of Writing; but if he was indeed the Revealer of the Artifice, how happen'd it that the History of so momentous a Circumstance was not recorded? so momentous that, as we shall see presently, the Memory of it would have been one of the greatest Barriers to Idolatry.

But tho' I think it highly probable that MOSES brought Letters with the rest of his Learning from *Egypt*, yet I could be easily persuaded to believe that he both enlarged the Alphabet, and altered the Shapes of the Letters. 1. The *Hebrew* Alphabet, which he employed in the Composition of the *Pentateuch*, is considerably fuller than that which *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*. *Cadmus* was of *Thebes* in

in *Egypt*, sojourned in *Syria*, and went from thence into *Greece*: His Country shews his Letters were *Egyptian*, which Proof their great Difference in Number from the *Hebrew* strongly confirms. 2. That *MOSES* likewise altered the Shape of the *Egyptian* Letters I think probable, for this Reason: All Hieroglyphic Writing was absolutely forbidden by the second Commandment, and with a View worthy the Divine Wisdom; Hieroglyphics being, as we shall shew hereafter, the great Source of the most abominable Idolatries and Superstitions. But now Alphabetic Letters, which henceforth could be only used amongst the *Hebrews*, being taken by the *Egyptians*<sup>i</sup> from their Hieroglyphic Marks, retained, as was natural, much of the Shapes of those Characters; to cut off therefore all Occasion of Danger from Symbolic Images, *MOSES*, as I suppose, altered the Form of the *Egyptian* Letters, and reduced them into something like those simple Shapes in which we now find them.

Thus we see at length that *Letters* were a Matter of much Consequence amongst the *Hebrews*, with regard to the Integrity of their Religion. If therefore, as is pretended, *GOD* was the immediate Author of them, it could scarce be but *MOSES* would have recorded the History of their Invention, as the best Sanction to their Use, and best Security from the Danger of Hieroglyphic Writing; to which this People, so fond of *Egyptian* Manners, were very forceably inclined.

But we have not yet done with the Passage of *Manetho*; the last Circumstance opening our way to another Discovery of great Importance in the *Egyptian* Antiquities: For by this we find they had not only *Sacred Characters and Letters*, but a *Sacred*

<sup>i</sup> See p. 78, 79 of this Volume.

DIALECT or Language also; for what he here calls *ἱερὰ Διὰλέκτο*, in another Place (where he interprets a certain Word in this Language,) he calls *ἱερὰ γλῶσσα*<sup>k</sup>. It might perhaps be imagined that this *Sacred Dialect* was only the more ancient *Egyptian* Language; which being now grown into disuse, was preserved amongst the Priests: But if we consider the small and slow Change to which the *Eastern* Languages were subject, especially the Language of a People admitting so little of foreign Manners, we can scarce believe this to have been the Case: Besides, the *Sacred Dialect* was used for *Secrecy*, being known only to the Priests; which could never be the Condition of a National Language, how obsolete soever we may reasonably conceive it to be grown. All this considered, I take their *Sacred Dialect* to be a Language of their own framing, and one of their latest Expedients for keeping their Science to themselves. We have shewn how, as they grew more speculative, they invented an Alphabet to express their Conceptions in *Words*, instead of *Things*, for the sake of Perspicuity and Exactness: But the simple Mystery of a *peculiar Alphabet*, employed in a *common Tongue*, would be soon seen into; they therefore, as appears, invented a *peculiar Language* for the use of their *Alphabet*; and thus under a *double Cover* effectually secured their Science. The way of framing the *Sacred Dialect*, I suppose was this, they called Things by the Names of their Hieroglyphical *Representatives*: Thus YK in the *Egyptian* Tongue signifying a Serpent, and a Serpent in their Hiero-

<sup>k</sup> Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἱερὰ ἱερὰ Διὰλέκτο, τὸ δὲ ἐν βασιλεὺς ποιμενέτω. πρὸς τὸ YK κατὰ ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλεία σημαίνει, πρὸς τὸ ΣΩΣ ποιμενέτω ἐν καὶ ποιμενέτω καὶ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, καὶ ἔτι σωτήριον ἔργον γινέτω YK ΣΩΣ. *Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. cap. 14.*

glyphics denoting a King<sup>1</sup>, ΥΚ, as *Manetho* informs us above, signified *a King* in the *Sacred Dialect*: And thus their Hieroglyphics became a Fund for an entire new Language.

On the whole then it appears that the *Egyptian Priests* had these three Methods of secreting their recorded Knowledge; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their several Natures, and distinguishing them from the proper Hieroglyphic, I have endeavoured to disembroil a Subject that seems to have perplexed even Antiquity itself; which, in its Account of the *Egyptian Literature*, perpetually confounds the several Species of sacred Writing with one another. What greatly contributed to this Confusion I presume, was the *Egyptian Practice* of promiscuously using in one and the same Book, or Literary Monument, the several various Species of *Sacred Writing*; that is to say, the proper *Hieroglyphic*, the *Symbolic*, and the *Hierogrammatic*; as was done in composing the *Bembine Table*, and the *Mystic Ritual* described by *Apuleius*.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its Origin from *Necessity*, came, in time, to be employed for *Secrecy*, and improved for *Ornament*. But now in the incessant Revolutions of Things this Imagery, which was at first invented for Clearness, and was from thence converted into Mystery, at length resumed its pristine use; and, in the flourishing Ages of *Greece* and *Rome*, was employed in their Monuments and Medals as the clearest Method of conveying the Conception; and a *Symbol*, that in *Egypt* was pregnant with profound Wisdom, was here the Vocabulary of the People. To illustrate these several Changes and Revolutions, we

<sup>1</sup> *Horapollo*, lib. i. cap. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

shall

shall once again take up our Instance from LANGUAGE; (which still, in all its *minuter* Alterations and Improvements, ran parallel with WRITING,) and shew how the primitive Expedient, to communicate our Thoughts in Converse, the rude Effort of Necessity, came in time, like the *first Hieroglyphics*, to be turned into Mystery, and improved into the Arts of Eloquence and Persuasion.

I. We have already shewn in the Fable of *Jotham*, how the *Apologue* corresponded to the *proper Egyptian Hieroglyphic*, and was invented only to present a sensible Image to the rude Conception of the Hearer.

As the *Change* of the Object, (which Change is the Foundation of the Fable) made it exactly answer to the *Tropical Hieroglyphic*; so that Sort of *Prosopopæia*, much in use in the Fable, which represents a Multitude under the Image of one, made it equally correspond to the *Curiological Hieroglyphic*.

II. But now in after Times, either when Men began to *affect* Mystery, or their Subject to *require Secrecy*, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or Fable, by quaint and far fetched Allusions, into a PARABLE, on set Purpose to throw Obscurity over the Information; just as the *Tropical Hieroglyphic* was turned into the *Tropical Symbol*. We find innumerable Instances of this Mode of Speech in Scripture: Thus GOD by the Prophet *Ezekiel*: — “ Son of Man, utter a PARABLE unto  
“ the rebellious House, and say unto them, thus  
“ saith the LORD GOD, Set on a Pot, set it on,  
“ and also pour Water into it: Gather the Pieces  
“ thereof into it, even every good Piece, the Thigh  
“ and the Shoulder, fill it with the choice Bones.  
“ Take the choice of the Flock, and burn also  
“ the Bones under it, and make it boil well, and  
“ let

“ let them see the Bones of it therein <sup>m</sup>. ”

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongst the *Orientalists* and *Greeks*: Thus the *Jews* understood it, as appears by the Complaint of the Prophet: “ Ah LORD! they say of me, doth “ he not speak PARABLES <sup>n</sup>. ” — And by this Denunciation of our LORD himself: “ Unto you it “ is given to know the *Mysteries* of the Kingdom “ of GOD; but to others in PARABLES; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might “ not understand <sup>o</sup>. ” And thus that great Master of *Grecian Eloquence*, *Demetrius Phalereus* explains it: “ The Allegory is used (says he) as a Covering “ and Disguise to the Discourse <sup>p</sup>. ”

III. We have observed, that *Symbolic Writing*, the more it receded from the *Proper Hieroglyphic*, the more it became obscure; and was at length divided into two sorts, the *Tropical* and the *Enigmatical*: Just so again it was with the *Parable*, which answering to the *Tropical Symbol*, grew more and more mysterious, till it became a RIDDLE, which exactly corresponded to the *Enigmatical*.

This in sacred Scripture is called a DARK SAYING καὶ ἐξοχὴν. The Prophet *Ezekiel* will furnish us with an Example of it: — “ And the Word of “ the LORD (says he) came unto me saying, Son “ of Man, put forth a RIDDLE, and speak a *Parable* “ unto the House of *Israel*; and say, thus saith the “ LORD GOD, A great Eagle, with great Wings, “ long winged, full of Feathers, which had divers “ Colours, came unto *Lebanon*, and took the highest Branch of the Cedar; he cropt off the Top “ of his young Twigs, and carried it into a Land “ of Traffic <sup>q</sup>. &c. ” In the Interpretation of these

<sup>m</sup> EZEK. xxiv. 3, & seq.    <sup>n</sup> xx. 49.    <sup>o</sup> LUKE viii. 10.

<sup>p</sup> — ὡς περ σὺν καλύμματι τὸ λόγος, τῇ ἀλληγοίᾳ κέχρηται. *De Elec. Sect.* 100.    <sup>q</sup> Chap. xvii. § 2, & seq.

*Riddles* consisted much of the old Eastern Wisdom, according to the Observation of the wise Man: “A Man of Understanding (says he) shall attain unto wise Counsels; to understand a Proverb and the Interpretation; the Words of the Wise and their DARK SAYINGS<sup>r</sup>.” It was the Custom too; as we learn from Scripture<sup>s</sup>, and a lasting one, as we are informed by *Josephus*<sup>t</sup>, for the Sages of those Times to send or offer RIDDLES to each other, as a Tryal of Sagacity, to which Rewards and Penalties were annexed<sup>v</sup>: So that the Present of a *Riddle* was frequently the Stratagem for a Booty: Hence, the *understanding dark Sentences* became a Proverb amongst the *Hebrews* to signify the *Arts of Fraud and Deceit*; as may be collected from the Character given by *Daniel* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: — “And in the latter time of their Kingdom, when the Transgressors are come to the full, a King of fierce Countenance and UNDERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES shall stand up<sup>w</sup>.”

The mysterious Cover of this kind of Wisdom made it (as always such a Cover does) the most high prized Acquirement: So when the Psalmist would strongly raise and engage the Attention of his Audience, he begins his Song in this manner: “Hear, all ye People, give ear, all ye Inhabitants of the World: both low and high;

<sup>r</sup> PROV. i. 5, 6.

<sup>s</sup> JUDGES xiv. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>t</sup> — καὶ σοφίσματα ἃ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διαπέμψας πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ ἔτι Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, ὁδὸν καλὴν ὅπως αὐτῷ τέτυκται σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίας τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητημάτων ἀπαλλάξῃ. τὸ δὲ δεινὸν ὅτι καὶ σωμειν, ἐδὲν τέτων παρελθὼν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς νικησας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλγίστην ἐφῄτισιν. *Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 5.*

<sup>v</sup> Διὸς — τὸ δὲ τυραννῆτα Ἰεζουολύμων Σολομῶνα ἀνέμψας, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Εἰσερχομὲν ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβοῦν ἀξιοῦντα. τὸ δὲ, μὴ δυνάμεναι ἀλγεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ χεῖματι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ. — *Id. ib.*

<sup>w</sup> Chap. viii. § 23.

“ rich and poor together. My Mouth shall speak  
 “ of Wisdom, and the Meditation of my Heart  
 “ shall be of understanding. I WILL INCLINE MINE  
 “ EAR TO A PARABLE; I WILL OPEN MY DARK  
 “ SAYING UPON THE HARP<sup>x</sup>. ” For as a great  
 Critic in Sacred and Profane Learning rightly  
 observes upon the Place: *Psalmi hujus auctor, quo*  
*auditores attentos reddat, his promittit se de rebus ma-*  
*ximis, & in quibus summa sapientia posita sit, dictu-*  
*rum; & in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit*  
*maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet.*

And as in the improved *Art of Writing* by  
 Symbols, the *Egyptians* as well to give it the  
 Air of Learning and Elegance, as the Cover of  
 Obscurity, studied all the singular Properties of  
 Beings and their relations, for Representatives of  
 other Things: So in the *Art of Speaking*, Men  
 soon began to adorn those Modes of Information  
 last spoken of, with Tropes and Figures, ’till at  
 length Posterity began to doubt about the Original  
 of all *Figurative Expression*; just as they had done  
 of all *Hieroglyphic Painting*: But the first, like the  
 latter, owed its Birth to mere Want and Rusti-  
 city; that is, a *Want of Words*, and a *Rusticity*  
*of Conception*. To give an Instance of the first  
 Want in the *Pleonasm*; of the latter in the *Meta-*  
*phor*; for Eastern Speech abounds with these Fi-  
 gures; they constitute its Pride and Beauty; and  
 to excel in them consists the Art of their Orators  
 and Poets.

1. The *Pleonasm* evidently arose from the Nar-  
 rowness of a simple Language: The *Hebrew*, in  
 which this Figure abounds, is the scantiest of all  
 the learned Languages of the East: *Amant* (says  
*Grotius*) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem*

<sup>x</sup> PSAL. xlix. 4.

<sup>y</sup> *Psalmorum Liber in Versiculos metricè*  
*divisus &c. Ed. Episc. Gicest. p. 265.*

*multis*



*multis verbis exprimunt*<sup>2</sup>. He does not tell us the Reason; but we have given it above, and it seems a very natural one: For when the Speaker's Phrase comes not up to his Ideas, (as in a scanty Language it often will not) he endeavours of course to explain himself by a Repetition of the Thought in other Words; as he whose Body is straiten'd in Room is always dissatisfied with his present Posture. We may observe this to happen frequently in common Conversation; where the Conception of the Speaker is stronger than his Expression. Thus we see the scantiest Language will be always fullest of Repetitions.

2. The *Metaphor* arose as evidently from *Rusticity of Conception*, as the *Pleonasm* from the *Want of Words*. The first simple Ages, uncultivated and immersed in Sense, could express their rude Conceptions of abstract Ideas, and the reflex Operations of the Mind, only by material Images; which, so applied, became *Metaphors*. This, and not the Warmth of a Poetic Fancy, as is commonly supposed, was the true Original of figurative Expression. We see it even at this Day in the Style of the *American Barbarians*, tho' of the coldest and most flegmatic Complexions, such as the *Iroquois* of the Northern Continent; of whom a learned Missionary says: "They affect a lively *close* Expression like the *Lacedemonians*; yet for all that their Style is *figurative*, and *wholly metaphorical*<sup>2</sup>." Their *Pblegm* could only make their Style *concise*, not take away the *Figures*: and the Conjunction of these different Characters in it, shews plainly that Meta-

<sup>2</sup> In HAB. ii. 1.      <sup>2</sup> Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un discours vif & concis; leur Style est cependant figuré, & tout *metaphorique*. *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps*, par Lafitau, tom. i. p. 480.

phors were from Necessity, not Choice. But we need not this far fetch'd Instance; he who will only reflect on what is so common as generally to escape Men's Reflexions may observe, that the People are always most given to speak in Figures. It is true, when this met with a warm Imagination improved by Exercise and Meditation, that delighted in painting strong and lively Images, the *Use* would be soon adorned with all the Flourishes of Wit. For *Wit* consists in using strong *metaphoric Images* in uncommon and adequate Allusions; just as ancient *Egyptian Wisdom* did in *Hieroglyphic Symbols* fancifully adapted by Analogy.

Thus we see it has ever been the way of Man, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in *Clothes* and *Habitations*, to turn his Wants and Necessities into Parade and Ornament.

IV. We have, in the first Parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, compared *Metaphors* to the *Letters of an Alphabet*; and how exactly the Parallel runs we may see further from hence: The *Egyptians* had, as hath been shewn, *two* Sorts of *Alphabetic Letters*, the one *Popular*, the other *Sacerdotal*; and so it was with the *Metaphor* in the ancient use of it; *one* kind was *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *mysterious*. The *Prophetic Writings* are full of this kind of *Metaphor*. To instance only in the famous Prediction of *Balaam*: — *There shall come a STAR out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel* <sup>b</sup>. This Prophecy may possibly in some Sense relate to *David*, but, without doubt, it belongs principally to *Christ*; here the *Metaphor* of a *Sceptre* was *common* and *popular* to denote a Ruler, like *David*; but the *Star*, tho' like the other, it signified, in the *Prophetic Writings* <sup>c</sup>, a temporal Prince or Ruler, yet

<sup>b</sup> NUMB. xxiv. 17.

<sup>c</sup> DAN. viii. 10.

had

had a secret and hidden Meaning likewise: A *Star* in the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* denoted GOD<sup>d</sup>, (and how much *Hieroglyphic* Writing influenced the Eastern Languages we shall see presently :) Thus GOD, in the Prophet *Amos*, reproving the *Israelites* for their Idolatry on their first coming out of *Egypt*, says: “Have ye offered unto me Sacrifices and Offerings in the Wilderness forty Years, O House of *Israel*? But ye have born the Tabernacle of your *Moloch* and *Cbiun* your Images, THE STAR OF YOUR GOD which ye made to yourselves<sup>e</sup>.” The *Star* of your GOD is here a noble figurative Expression to signify the Image of your GOD; for a *Star* being employed in the *Hieroglyphics* to signify GOD, it is used here, with great Elegance, to signify the material Image of a God; the Words *the Star of your GOD* being only a Repetition (so usual in the *Hebrew* Tongue) of the preceding — *Cbiun your Images*; and not (as some Critics suppose) the same with *your God Star*, *Sidus Deum vestrum*. Hence we conclude that the *Metaphor* here used by *Balaam* of a *Star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind, and so to be understood; and consequently that it related only to CHRIST, the eternal Son of GOD.

We have observed how *Symbols*, which came from open *Hieroglyphics*, lost their mysterious use, and recovered again their primitive Nature in the flourishing Ages of *Greece* and *Rome*. Just so again it was with the *Parable*, which coming from the simple *Apologue*, often returned to its first Clearness, and became a *Proverb* plain and intelligible to all. “In that Day (says the Prophet *Micah*) shall one take up a *Parable* against you<sup>f</sup>, &c. and Ha-

<sup>d</sup> Ἄστὴρ ὡς Αἰγυπτίους γαστέρας ΘΕΟΝ ἐκμαίνει. *Horapoll.*  
*Hierog.* lib. ii. cap. i. <sup>e</sup> Chap. v. y 25, 26.

<sup>f</sup> Chap. ii. y 4.

*bakkuk*: " Shall not all these take up a *Parable* against him, and a taunting *Proverb* against him " and say  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$ , &c.

Thus had WRITING and LANGUAGE exactly the same Fate ; the peculiar Modes of each were invented out of Necessity, for general Intelligence ; were continued out of Choice, for Mystery and Ornament ; and at last ended, as they begun, in the way of popular Information.

Hitherto we have considered their relation *only* as they run in an *independent* Parallel ; but being but two different ways of communicating the *same* human Conception, they must needs have an extreme great Influence upon one another. To explain this mutual Influence in the Manner it deserves, would require a just Volume ; and a proper Place may be found for it when we come to the removing Infidel Objections to the *Style of Scripture* ; it will be sufficient just to touch upon it at present.

1. The Influence Language would have on the first kind of Writing, which was *Hieroglyphical*, is evident. — *That* Language we have shewn was out of mere Necessity, highly *figurative*, and full of material Images ; so that when Men first thought of *recording* their Conceptions, the Writing would be, of course, that very Picture which was before painted in the Fancy, and from thence delineated in Words : And long afterwards, when figurative Speech was continued out of Choice, and adorned with all the Invention of Wit, as amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans* ; and that the Genius of the *most ancient Hieroglyphic* Writing was again revived for Ornament in *Emblems* and *Devices*, the Custom of their Poets and Orators in personalizing every thing,

filled their *Coins*, their *Arches*, their *Altars*, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the Qualities of the Mind, all the Affections of the Body, all the Properties of Countries, Cities, Rivers, Mountains, became the Seeds of living things: for,

“ as *Imagination* bodied forth  
 “ The Forms of Things unknown, the *Artist’s*  
*Hand*  
 “ Turn’d them to Shape, and gave to airy nothing  
 “ A local Habitation and a Name.”

2. The reciprocal Influence *Hieroglyphic* Writing would have on *Language* is as evident. The *Chinese*, we have seen, used this kind of Writing, as well as the *Egyptians*; and the Character given of their Language is entirely correspondent: “ The Style of the *Chinese*, in their Compositions, (says *Du Halde*,) “ is MYSTERIOUS, *concise*, ALLEGORIC, “ and sometimes *obscure*. They say much in few “ Words. Their Expressions are lively, animated, “ and thick sown with *bold Comparisons*, and noble “ *Metaphors*.” Their Style, we see, was *concise* and *figurative*, the very Character of the *Iroquoian* given above; for Nature is ever uniform: The cold *phlegmatic* Temper of the *Chinese* made their Style short and laconic, and the use of *Hieroglyphics* figurative: But had these remote People of the East and West, professed the warm Imagination of the *proper Asiatics*, then had their Language, like that of others which we have spoken of above, abounded with

<sup>h</sup> Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compositions est *mysterieux*, concis, *allegorique*, & quelquefois obscur. Ils disent beaucoup de choses en peu de paroles. Leurs expressions sont vives, animées & semées de comparaisons hardies & de metaphores nobles. *Descr. de l’ Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 227. Paris 1735.

*Pleonasm*s instead of *Laconism*s. The old *Asiatic* Style so highly figurative, seems likewise, by what we find of its Remains in the Prophetic Language of the Sacred Writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the Mode of the *ancient Hieroglyphics*: For as in Hieroglyphic Writing the Sun, Moon, and Stars were used to represent States and Empires, Kings, Queens, and Nobility; their Eclipse and Extinction, temporary Disasters, or entire Overthrow; Fire and Flood, Desolation by War and Famine; Plants or Animals, the Qualities of particular Persons, &c. So in like manner the Holy Prophets call Kings and Empires by the Names of the Heavenly Luminaries; their Misfortunes and Overthrow are represented by Eclipses and Extinction; Stars falling from the Firmament are employed to denote the Destruction of the Nobility; Thunder and tempestuous Winds, hostile Invasions; Lions, Bears, Leopards, Goats, or high Trees, Leaders of Armies, Conquerors, and Founders of Empires: Royal Dignity is described by Purple, or a Crown; Iniquity by spotted Garments; Error and Misery by an intoxicating Draught; a Warrior by Sword or Bow; a powerful Man by a gigantic Stature; and a Judge by Ballance, Weights, and Measures: In a Word, the Prophetic Style seems to be a speaking Hieroglyphic. These Observations will not only assist us in the Study of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their Character from the illiterate Cavils of modern Libertines, who have foolishly mistaken *that* for the peculiar Workmanship of the Prophet's heated Imagination, which was the sober established Language of their Times, and which God and his Son condescended to employ as the properest Conveyance of the high mysterious Ways of Providence

vidence in the Revelation of themselves to Mankind<sup>i</sup>.

But to come towards a Conclusion: We must observe in the last Place, that besides the many Changes the ancient *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length suffered a very perverse Corruption. It hath been already seen how the MYSTERIES, that other grand Vehicle of *Egyptian Wisdom*, degenerated into MAGIC: And just so it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their Characters being become, in a proper Sense, *Sacred* (as will be explain'd hereafter) it disposed the more superstitious to engrave them upon Gems, and wear them as *Amulets* or *Charms*. But this *magical* Abuse seems not to have been much earlier than the established Worship of the God *Serapis*; which happened under the *Ptolemys*; and was first brought to the general Knowledge of the World by certain *Christian* Heretics, and Natives of *Egypt*, who had mixed a number of Pagan Superstitions with their *Christianity*. These Gems, called *ABRAXAS*, are yet frequently to be met with in the

<sup>i</sup> Nor need we wonder that Hieroglyphics should thus affect the Language of those Times, when we find the Traces of its Influence in the more modern *European* Tongues: The *Egyptians* signified the Year by a Serpent circularly turned with its Tail into its Mouth. Thus the *Greeks* called the Year *ἑνωτός*, because, according to *Plato's* Etymology, it returned into itself, οἱ μὲν ἐνωτὸν, ὅτι ἐν ἑαυτῷ, [in *Cratyl.*] And the *Romans*, *Annus*, *quasi* Annulus, says *Varro*: *Annus*, says *Servius*, *dictus quasi Anus, id est* Annulus, *quod in se redeat*, [in *Æn.* lib. i.] — Again, the *Egyptians* designed the present Year by the Eagle; hence the *Greeks* called the Eagle *αἰτός*. *Artemidorus* speaking of the Signification of Dreams, says: — *σημαίνει δὲ ὁ αἰτός, καὶ τὰ ἐνέωτα ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ γραφέν ἐν δέν ἄλλο, ἢ πρῶτον ἔτϙ*, lib. ii. cap. 20. But we shall see the ancient Oni-rocritics, from whom *Artemidorus* made his Collection, took their Rules of interpreting Things seen in Dreams, from the Signification of those Things in Hieroglyphic Writing.

Cabinets

Cabinets of the Curious, and are engraven with all kinds of Hieroglyphic Characters. For this Original we have the authentic Testimony of *Rufinus* the Ecclesiastical Historian, contemporary with *St. Jerome*:— *Who can reckon up, says he, the horrid Superstitions practised at Canopus? where under Pretence of interpreting the SACERDOTAL LETTERS, for so they call the ancient Egyptian Characters, a public School may be almost said to be opened for the teaching Magic Arts*<sup>k</sup>. Hence these Characters came to be called *Chaldaic*, the *Chaldeans* being distinguishingly addicted to Magic Arts. So *Cassiodorus*, speaking of the Obelisks in the *Roman Circus*, which were brought from *Egypt*, calls the Inscriptions on them *Chaldaica Signa*<sup>l</sup>. To the *Abraxas*, in later Times, succeeded the *TALISMANS*, a Charm of the same supposed Efficacy; and, (mixed, like the other, with the Dotages of Judicial Astrology,) are held in the highest Regard, to this Day, in all *Mahometan* Countries. And here let me observe, that from the low Date of these kind of *Charms* may be seen the Imperti-

<sup>k</sup> — *Canopi quis enumeret superstiosa flagitia? Ubi prætextu SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, ita enim appellant antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, Magicæ artis erat pene publica schola. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxvi.* This deceived several of the Ancients into a very unphilosophical Belief that the Pollution of Magic was coeval with the first Hieroglyphics; and amongst these, the Poet *Lucan*; who, speaking of the Times before Literary Writing, says:

*Nondum flumineos Memphis contexere Biblos  
Noverat; in SAXIS tantum VOLUCRESQUE FERASQUE  
Sculptaque servabant MAGICAS animalia LINGUAS.*

Here, we see, the magical Abuse of Hieroglyphics is made to be as early as the *Invention*: An extravagant Error, which the least Attention to the History of the human Mind must needs have detected.

<sup>l</sup> *Ubi sacra prætorum Chaldaicis signis, quasi literis indicantur.* lib. iii. Ep. 51. & lib. iii. Ep. 2.

nence



nence of what Sir *John Marsham* brings, from late *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, to confront and discredit the mysterious Elevation of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness.

But what must we think of *KIRCHER*, who mistook these Superstitions for the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom; and setting up with this Magic, and that of the *Mysteries*, which the later *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* had jumbled together in the Production of their *Fanatic-Philosophy*, at once ingrossed, in Imagination, all the Treasures of Antiquity<sup>m</sup>?

In Conclusion, we have here presumed to dispute a very unquestion'd Notion, *That the Egyptians invented Hieroglyphics for the Sake of Secrecy*. It will be well if the *Evidence* of the Reasoning may excuse its *Singularity*. This is certain, the Subject has lain a long Time in deep Obscurity; and as certain that we have been, some how or other, enabled to throw a few Rays of Light upon it. Whether that Confusion was the Consequence of the common Opinion, and this clear Account the Effect of our Principle is left for the candid Reader to consider.

<sup>m</sup> The following are three of his six *Postulata* on which he founds his whole Interpretation of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*:—

1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est quam arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, saxis potissimum insculpta.*

5. *Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantum sublimium erant significati-va sacramentorum; sed & naturalem quandam efficacientiam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuscum occultam, & in abyssa naturæ abyssu latentem sympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios & antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coercendos prostigandosque.*

6. *Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylætica quædam signa, omnium malorum averruncati-va, ob mirificum catenarum mundalium consensum connexionemque, esse existimabantur.*

*Oedip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.*

III. But

## III.

But now to apply this Matter to the Proof of our *Proposition*; for this long Discourse of the Origin, Use, and Nature of *Hieroglyphic* Writing is *particularly* given to deduce from it an *internal* Argument of the high Antiquity of *Egyptian* Learning.

Let us see then how it stands: The true *Egyptian* Learning, which the early *Greek* Sages fetched from thence, to adorn their own Country, was, by the concurrent Testimony of these Writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics*. This was a mere Fact; and, in a Fact, they could not sure be deceived; tho' in the Causes of it they well might; and, as we have shewn, indeed were. — But *Hieroglyphic* Writing was first *invented*, and afterwards *improved* into a Contrivance to record their profound Wisdom, long before the *Letters* of an *Alphabet* were found out; and yet *these* had so high and almost immemorial Antiquity as to deceive some Men into an Opinion that *Letters* were prior in Time to *Hieroglyphics*<sup>n</sup>.

To this it may be objected, that, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for Secrecy, but afterwards turned to that Usage, and employed in it,

<sup>n</sup> Amongst the rest, the learned Author of *Sacred and Profane History connected*; who says: "We have no Reason to think that these Hieroglyphics [namely, what we call the *Curiologic*,] were so ancient as the first Letters:" This is his *first Answer* to the Opinion that *they were themselves the first Letters*. His *second* is in these Words: "They would have been a very imperfect Character, many, nay most Occurrences could be represented by them but by halves," Vol. ii. p. 295. Now this to me appears a *very good* Argument for Hieroglyphics being indeed the *first* rude Effort towards recording the human Conceptions; and still a *better* why they could not be the *second*, when Men had already found out the more commodious Method of Alphabetic Letters.

even

even long after the Invention of *Alphabetic* Letters, it might very well be, that this profound Learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the Product of Ages much below the Antiquity we seek for.

Now, not to insist upon the *Greek* Testimony which makes the *learned Hieroglyphics* coeval with their first Race of Kings, I reply, and might well rest the Point on this single Argument:—That if at the Invention of *Letters*, much high prized Learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only simple Memorials of Civil Matters, no probable Reason can be given why the *Egyptians* did not *then* discontinue a Way of Writing so very troublesome and imperfect. We have shewn it to have been the general Practice, in the very early Ages of the World, for all Nations, as well as the *Egyptian*, to record the Succession of Time, and Revolutions of State in *Hieroglyphic* Characters: But of *these*, none besides the *Egyptians*, continued to write by *Marks* after the Invention of *Letters*; all other immediately dropt their *Hieroglyphics* on the Discovery of that more commodious Method. The Reason is plain; all other were totally unlearned in those Periods of their Existence preceding the Invention of *Letters*; consequently, as their *Hieroglyphics* were nothing but the rude Annals of History, they had no Temptation to continue them in use: But, in *that* Period, the *Egyptians* being very learned, and Hieroglyphics the Repositories of their Learning, those Monuments would be in high Veneration, and that Veneration perpetuate their Usage. There is but one Example perhaps in the World besides the *Egyptian*, where a People's Learning was *first* recorded in Hieroglyphic Characters; and this one Example remarkably supports our Argument: The Case is of the *Chinese*; who, as the Missionaries

Missionaries assure us, bear such Esteem and Reverence for their ancient *Character*, that, when they find it curiously written, they prefer it to the most beautiful Painting, and purchase the least Scrap at an excessive Price; that they will not apply the Paper even of the most common Book on which these Characters are written to any profane or vulgar use; and that their Joiners and Masons do not dare to tear a printed Leaf which they find pasted to the Wall or Wainscot<sup>o</sup>: — Now if, at length, these People should be prevailed on to use the more excellent Way of Writing with the Letters of an Alphabet, can any one doubt but that their *Mandarins* would still continue these venerable Hieroglyphic Characters in their Works of Science and Religion? Thus, without all question, was it with the *Egyptians*; Characters become the Vehicle of such Treasures of Learning would be in the highest Reverence; as, indeed, the common Name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the *Greeks*, shews they really were *P*. But *that* Learning which

<sup>o</sup> Ils preferent même un beau caractère à la plus admirable peinture, & l'on en voit souvent qui achètent bien cher une page de vieux caractères, quand ils sont bien formés. Ils honorent leurs caractères jusques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, & si par hasard quelques feuilles étoient tombées, ils les ramassent avec respect: ce seroit, selon eux une grossièreté & une impolitesse, d'en faire un usage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jeter même avec indifférence; souvent il arrive que les menuisiers & les maçons n'osent pas déchirer une feuille imprimée, qui se trouve collée sur le mur, ou sur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute. *Du Halde Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 228.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 73, 74. of this Volume. What hath been said above will give an easy Solution to what a curious Traveller seems to think Matter of some Wonder, namely, that “the Symbolic Learning was the only Part of *Egyptian* Wisdom not translated “into *Greece*,” [Dr. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 391.] For we have shewn the Reason why *Egypt* alone continued their *Hieroglyphic* Characters after the Invention of the *Literary*; and why all other

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was contained in Hieroglyphic Writings, and was, *of itself*, sufficient to perpetuate their Use, gave Birth to a Tradition that would effectually prevent all Hazard of a Difuse; which was, that *the Gods themselves invented Hieroglyphic Writing*.

On the whole, the *Argument from their continued use* seems so sure a Proof of the high Antiquity of *Egyptian* Learning in general, that I might safely trust to it: But to remove even the Occasion of CaviL, I shall proceed to other, and, as I think, incontestable Arguments, for the Antiquity of that Learning, and particularly of their *Theologic*.

I. My first Argument shall be taken from the true Original of the Art of ONIROCRITIC, or *Interpretation of Dreams*; a very considerable Part of Ancient Pagan Religion. *Artemidorus*, who lived about the Beginning of the second Century, and wrote a Treatise of *Dreams* collected from much earlier Writers, divides Dreams into two kinds, the *Speculative* and *Allegorical*<sup>1</sup>; the *first* kind is that which represents a plain and *direct* Picture of the Event predicted; the *second* an *oblique* one, or a Tropical and Symbolic Image of it: Now this lat-

Nations from thenceforward left them off: But if he meant not *Hieroglyphic Characters*, but only the *Mode of Egyptian* Wisdom employed therein, then it is a Mistake; that *Mode* was *translated into Greece* with the rest; for the Precepts of *Pythagoras* were a fantastic kind of Translation of Hieroglyphic Pictures into literal Propositions; and on that account, doubtless, called Symbols: — Μάστις (says *Plutarch*) ἡ ἔτϠ [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμαδὸς καὶ θαυμάσιος τὸς ἄνδρας, ἀπειμιμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μυσηλώδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα. ἤ γδ καλὴν ῥῆσιν γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν ἔθεν διπλείη τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Πυθαγόρειον ὡς ἀγγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ Μη ἰδίειν ἐπὶ δίφρῳ, μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίρικῳ καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοινικὰ φυλάειν, μηδὲ πῶρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλῶειν ὦν οἰκίᾳ. *De Is Os*. p. 632.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀληθοεικοί· καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μὲν, οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῷ θείᾳ περσοικότες; — Ἀληθοεικοὶ δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες. — *Artemid. Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2.

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ter, which makes up the large Farrago of Dreams, is *that* kind only which needs an Interpreter: On this account *Macrobius* defines a Dream to be the Notice of something delivered allegorically, and wanting Interpretation<sup>r</sup>.

This being the Case, our Enquiry will be, what was the original *Ground* of Interpretation, when if a Man dreamt of a Dragon, the Onirocritic assured him it signified *Majesty*; when of a Serpent, a *Disease*; a Viper, *Money*; Frogs, *Impostors*; Pigeons and Stock-doves, *Women*; Partridges, *impious Persons*; a Swallow, *Sorrow, Death, and Disaster*; Cats, *Adultery*; the Ichneumon, *deceitful and mischievous Men, &c.* for of these remote and mysterious Significations was the Body of ancient *Onirocritic* composed. Now the early Interpreters of Dreams were not Cheats and Impostors, but, like the early judicial *Astrologers*, by being more superstitious than their Neighbours, the first who fell into the Delusion: But admit them to have been as errant Cheats as any of their Successors, yet at their first setting up they must have had Materials proper for their Work; which could never be the fantastical Workings of each Man's private Imagination. Their Customers would look to find a known Analogy for the ground of their deciphering; and they themselves as naturally fly to some confessed Authority to support their Science. But what Ground or Authority could this be if not *Symbolic Hieroglyphics*, now made sacred and mysterious? Here you have the clear Solution of the Difficulty: the *Egyptian Priests*, the first Interpreters of Dreams, took their Divinations from the *Symbolic Learning*, in which they were become so

<sup>r</sup> Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris & velut ambagibus non nisi interpretatione intelligendam significationem rei quæ demonstratur. — *In Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. 3.*

deeply

deeply read : A ground of Interpretation that would give the strongest Credit to the Art ; and equally satisfy both the *Seer* and *Consulter* : For by this time it was generally believed that their Gods were the Inventers of Hieroglyphic Learning : So that nothing could be more natural than the Supposition that these Gods, who in their Opinion sent Dreams likewise, had employed the same manner of Expression in both Revelations. This, I suppose, was the true Original<sup>s</sup> of *Onirotic*, or Interpretation of those Dreams called Allegorical ; that is, of Dreams in general ; for the Wildness of an unbridled Imagination will make all natural Dreams of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well supported, every Age afforded new Superstitions to ad-

<sup>s</sup> The Reader may now see how inconsiderately the learned *W. Baxter* pronounced upon the matter, when he said, — “ *ἱερογλυφικὰ* of the Egyptians were *Notæ Sacræ* borrowed from the Onirotics, and therefore divine.” [*App. to his Gloss. Antiq. Rom.* pag. 414.] Nor does the more judicious *Mr. Daubuz* determine less erroneously, when he supposes both *Onirotic* and *Hieroglyphics* to have stood upon one common Foundation ; while he imagined, after *Kircher*, and on the Authority of certain late Greek Writers, that the *Ancient Egyptians* had I can’t tell what Notion of a close Union between Visible Bodies in Heaven, the Invisible Deities, and this Inferior World ; by such a Concatenation from the highest to the lowest, that the Affections of the higher Link reached the lower throughout the whole Chain : For that the intellectual World is so exact a Copy and Idea of the Visible, that nothing is done in the Visible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the Intellectual. [*Prelim. Discourse to his Comm. on the REVELATIONS.*] This was the senseless Jargon of *Jamblichus*, *Porphyry*, *Proclus*, and the rest of that fanatic tribe of *Greek Pythagorean-Platonists* ; which they obtruded on the World for old genuine *Egyptian* Wisdom ; the Vanity of which Pretence we have confuted in the first Volume. — It is hard to say whether these Enthusiasts believed themselves, there is such an equal mixture of Fool and Knave in all their Writings : However, it is certain, *Kircher* believed them.

orn it; which at last so overloaded it, that the old Foundation was quite lost and forgotten.

If this Account of the Original stood in need of any further Proof, I might urge the Examples of Interpretation here given from *Artemidorus*, and a vast number more which might have been given, all of the same Import with the Symbolic Interpretations in *Horapollo*.

But there is one remarkable Particular that puts the matter out of question: I shall explain it, tho' the Subject little needs an Enlargement: — The technical Term used by the Onirocritics for the Phantasms seen in Dreams was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ<sup>t</sup>, *Elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the use of so odd a Term on any other Supposition than the Derivation of Onirocritic from Symbolic Writing. On that Supposition the thing is evident and easy; for Symbolic Marks<sup>v</sup> were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they used Symbols to decypher Dreams, nothing could be more natural than giving the same significative Images on the Stone and in the Fancy, the same Appellation.

Why the *Egyptian* Priests<sup>w</sup> called their Hieroglyphic and Symbolic Marks Στοιχεῖα, was because

<sup>t</sup> Thus *Suidas* on the Word — ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ ἀεπλάσεις τῶν οὐνείων, αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι ἢ πολλαὶ χρόνους ἐκέασιν ἔχουσιν. *Artemidorus* tells us this was the technical Word for the Phantasms in Dreams: "Οὐνείος ἐστὶ κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυχρήμων· (τηματικῇ τῇ ἰσορροπίῳ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τότε δὲ ἔτιως ἔχοντι, ὅσα μὲν ἀποβήσονται) μετὰ χρόνον διελευσέντι, ἢ πολλῶν, ἢ ὀλίγων, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλεσμένων, παραγομένης ἢ ψυχῇ τῇ μετὰ χρόνον νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς διώματι λογισμῶν διδασκομένης τὰ ἰσόμμετα μαθεῖν. *Oneir.* lib. i. cap. 2. And in his fourth Book he begins a Chapter, which he entitles Περὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, in this manner: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφθόνους εἰρηὰς δοκούντας, εἴτε ὁ λόγος ἀεμῶσι, ὅπως ἔχῃς ἀπικρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῆναι τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων ἐν. cap. iii.

<sup>v</sup> See p. 74. <sup>w</sup> We have seen that the *Egyptian* Priests used the *Greek* Tongue very early.

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in this way of Writing they employed all kinds of Beings, throughout the whole Extent of Nature, to denote their Conceptions; the proper Signification of Στοιχεῖα being the first Elements and Principles of Things, out of which all Beings arise, and of which they are compounded\*. Hence it came that *Alphabetic* Letters, which were an Improvement on *Hieroglyphical*, and borrowed their first Shapes from Hieroglyphic Images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *Original* of Onirocritic. To bring it to our Point we must speak next of its *Antiquity*. Now Scripture leads us to the Practice of this Art as high up as the Times of *Joseph*.

*Pharaoh* had two Dreams; one of *Seven Kine*, the other of *Seven Ears of Corn*. We see both these Phantasms, [Στοιχεῖα,] were Symbols of *Egypt*: The *Ears* denoting its distinguished Fertility; the *Kine*, its great tutelary Patroness, *Isis*. *Pharaoh* knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence plainly arose his Solicitude and Impatience to understand the rest, as a matter that con-

\* But the learned *Daubuz*, in consequence of his trusting to the fanatic Notion of the late *Greek* Philosophers, supposes that Hieroglyphic Marks were called Στοιχεῖα, because the first Composers of them used the *Heavenly Bodies* to represent the *Notions* of their Minds, there being, according to them, a mystic sympathetic Union and Analogy between *Heavenly* and *Earthly Things*; consequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this use, signifies the *Host of Heaven*: That it may do so, according to the Genius of the *Greek* Tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from σείχω, which is a Military Term, and signifies to *march in order*. [p. 10. of the *Prel. Disc.*] But this learned Man should on this Occasion have remembered his own Quotation from the excellent *Quintilian*, p. 54. — *that Analogy is not founded upon Reason, but Example. Non ratione nititur Analogia, sed Exemplo; nec Lex est loquendi, sed Observatio: ut ipsam Analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam consuetudo.* *Inst.* lib. i. cap. 10.

Y GEN. xli.

cerned the *Public*; and accordingly, when *Joseph*<sup>2</sup> comes to decypher these Dreams, he does not tell the King that the two *Sevens* denoted *Seven Years in Egypt*, but simply *Seven Years*: The Scene of the Famine needed no decyphering. Unlike, in this, to the Interpretation of *Daniel*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* saw in a Dream a fair and high Tree; which being the Symbol of Majesty in general, the Prophet explains its particular Meaning, “The Tree that thou sawest — it is thou, O King<sup>3</sup>.”

The Argument therefore stands thus: The *Oni-rocritics* borrowed their Art of Decyphering from Hieroglyphic Symbols. — But this could not be 'till Hieroglyphics were become sacred, that is, the mysterious Vehicle of their Theology; because, 'till then, Hieroglyphics had not Authority enough to support the Credit of those Interpretations. — But

<sup>2</sup> Here I find myself in the ridiculous Situation of those poor *Italian Poets*, who are under the necessity of writing solemn *Protests* before their *Opera's*, that notwithstanding the use they make of Heathen Deities, they have no trust in *Jupiter, Mercury, or Apollo*, but believe as Holy Church directs. For, illustrating the old Pagan method of *Oni-rocritic* by the History of *Pharaoh's Dream*, I shall, perhaps, have some warm Watchman of Religion ready again to tell me that I did it only to discredit *Joseph's* Prophetic Interpretation; therefore, tho' this matter be explained at large afterwards, I am here forced to tell the Reader, what every one knows already, except such as *these*, who never think but to suspect, and never suspect but to accuse, — that when God pleases to deal with Men by his Ministers, he generally condescends to treat them according to their Infirmities; a Method that has all the Marks of highest Wisdom as well as Goodness. *Phantasms* in Dreams were superstitiously thought to be *Symbolical*; God, therefore, when it was his good Pleasure to send Dreams to *Pharaoh*, made the Foundation of them two well known Symbols; and this, doubtless, in order to engage the Dreamer's more serious Attention: But then, to confound the *Egyptian Oni-rocritics*, these Dreams were so circumstanced with Matters foreign to the Principles of their Art, that there was need of a truly Divine Interpreter to decypher them.

<sup>3</sup> DAN. iv. 20, 21.

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by the Time Hieroglyphics were become sacred, *Egypt* was very learned. — Now they were become sacred in the Days of *Joseph*, as appears from the use of interpreting Dreams according to those Symbols. — Therefore learned *Egypt* of very high Antiquity.

II. Our second Argument stands thus : We have observed, that in those improved Hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which it is confessed the Ancient *Egyptian* Learning was contained) the less obvious Properties of Creatures occasioned their becoming Marks for other Ideas, whether of Substances or Modes ; *Analogical Adaptions*, that plainly intimated their Cultivation of Physical Knowledge : Now *these* Symbols were, we say, the true Original of ANIMAL WORSHIP in *Egypt* ; but Animal Worship was the *established* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the Book of EXODUS ; therefore the *Egyptian* Learning was of the Antiquity we contend for<sup>b</sup>. The Proposition which needs any Proof is the first. The Reasons therefore that induce me to think *Symbolic Writing* was the sole Origin of *Animal Worship* are these :

<sup>b</sup> But here a learned Writer steps in and assures us, that *Animal Worship* was so far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that Hieroglyphics came out of Animal Worship. This is an unexpected Change of the Scene ; but for our Comfort, 'tis but the forced Consequence of an Hypothesis, which will be well considered in its place : " The *Hieroglyphical* Inscriptions of the *Egyptians* (says he) are pretty full of the Figures of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, and Men, with a few Letters sometimes between them ; and *this alone is sufficient* to hint to us, that they could not come into use before the Animals represented in Inscriptions of this sort, were become by *Allegory* and *Mythology* capable of expressing various things by their having been variously used in the Ceremonies of their Religion." *Connect. of the Sacred and Profane History*, Vol. ii. p. 294. But if this were the Case, how came these Animals to be *so capable* of expressing by *Allegory* and *Mythology* ? or in other Words, How came they to be the Objects of Worship ? — I find People quick at taking a Hint, are not always so ready at giving a Reason.

1. This kind of Idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* Superstition; and unknown to all the casts of Paganism but what were evidently copied from that Original; such as the several Gentile Nations of *Palestine* and *India*: *MOSES* marks it out for their distinguishing Superstition<sup>c</sup>: The *Greeks* and *Romans*, tho' at a loss for its Original, yet consider it as the mere Singularity of *Egypt*; which, on that account, they treated with the utmost Derision and Contempt.

*Felices populi, quorum nascuntur in hortis  
Numina<sup>d</sup>, &c.*

and the most intelligent of the *Moderns* speak of it in just the same manner<sup>e</sup>.

2. The *Egyptians* not only worshipped *Animals*, but *PLANTS*; and, in a word, every kind of Being that had Qualities remarkably singular or efficacious; every of these having found its Place in Symbolic Writing: For, as has been shewn, when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for Mystery, as soon as one Symbol grew common and vulgar, they invented another of more Secrecy; and when the same occasion returned, then again a third; so that almost all the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral

<sup>c</sup> DEUT. iv. § 14, to 21.

<sup>d</sup> *Juven. Sat. xv.*

<sup>e</sup> The learned *Fourmont* thus expresses himself: — *Mais pour parler simplement & sans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens étoient, &c, s'ils pensoient un peu, devoient se croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apothéose point sans folie les oignons & les asperges: que penser encore des Dieux Oiseaux, Poissons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-seulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui est plus étrange encore, insatuez de la Metempsychose, ils s'étoient enthousiasmés la-dessus de Mystagogies incompréhensibles. Leurs Prêtres, par un zèle qu'on ne connoît pas trop, s'étoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & il en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des missions infecté toute l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. Reflex. Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples, tom. i. p. 227.*

Creation would be made use of to explain the Histories of their Gods.

3. Besides the Adoration of almost every thing in *rerum natura*, the *Egyptians* worshipped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human Bodies, and the Head or Feet of Brutes; others with brutal Bodies, and human Heads and Faces; others again were a fantastic Compound of the several Parts of Beasts, Birds, and Reptiles terrestrial and aquatic: For besides the *simpler* Method in Hieroglyphic Writing of expressing their Hero-Gods by an intire *Plant* or *Animal*, there were two others which the Circumstances in the History of those Deities occasioned. Thus when the Subject was only one single Quality of a God or Hero, the human Shape was only partially deformed<sup>f</sup>; as with the Head of a Dog, Hawk, or Ram; to denote Fidelity, Vigilance, or Strength; with the Feet and Thighs of a Goat, to represent Rusticity, Agility, or Lust; And this gave birth to their *Anubis*, *Pan*, and *Jupiter Ammon*: But where the Subject required a full Catalogue of the Hero's Virtues or Qualities, there they used an Assemblage of the several Parts of various Animals; each of which, in Hieroglyphic Writing, was significative of a several quality; in which Assemblage, that Animal which was the more peculiar Representative of the God was the most conspicuous. This will explain the Verse of *Anticlides* in his Hymn to the Sun,

Ἡέλιος ὃ Νότιο Ἀναξ ἸΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The *Sun* was generally expressed by a Hawk, but *which*, under various Considerations had the various Parts of other Animals added to it.

<sup>f</sup> Εἶκασαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μίχρα τροχίλος ἀνθρωποειδής, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ὄρνις, ἢ λίων, ἢ ἄλλος τινὸς ζῶν κεκλιμῆς· καὶ πάλιν αὐ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπίνας, καὶ ἄλλων τινων ζῶων μέρη πῇ μὲν ἐπιεικόμενα, πῇ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. *Porph. de Abst.* l. iv.

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*Felices populi, quorum nascuntur in hortis  
Numina<sup>d</sup>, &c.*

and the most intelligent of the *Moderns* speak of it in just the same manner<sup>e</sup>.

2. The *Egyptians* not only worshipped *Animals*, but *PLANTS*; and, in a word, every kind of Being that had Qualities remarkably singular or efficacious; every of these having found its Place in Symbolic Writing: For, as has been shewn, when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for Mystery, as soon as one Symbol grew common and vulgar, they invented another of more Secrecy; and when the same occasion returned, then again a third; so that almost all the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral

<sup>c</sup> DEUT. iv. v. 14, to 21.

<sup>d</sup> Juven. Sat. xv.

<sup>e</sup> The learned *Fourmont* thus expresses himself: — *Mais pour parler simplement & sans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens étoient, &c, s'ils pensoient un peu, devoient se croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apothéose point sans folie les oignons & les asperges: que penser encore des Dieux Oiseaux, Poissons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-seulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui est plus étrange encore, insatuez de la Metempsychose, ils s'étoient enthousiasmés la-dessus de Mystagogies incompréhensibles. Leurs Prêtres, par un zèle qu'on ne connoît pas trop, s'étoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & il en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des missions infecté toute l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. Reflex. Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples, tom. i. p. 227.*



Creation would be made use of to explain the Histories of their Gods.

3. Besides the Adoration of almost every thing in *rerum natura*, the *Egyptians* worshipped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human Bodies, and the Head or Feet of Brutes; others with brutal Bodies, and human Heads and Faces; others again were a fantastic Compound of the several Parts of Beasts, Birds, and Reptiles terrestrial and aquatic: For besides the *simpler* Method in Hieroglyphic Writing of expressing their Hero-Gods by an intire *Plant* or *Animal*, there were two others which the Circumstances in the History of those Deities occasioned. Thus when the Subject was only one single Quality of a God or Hero, the human Shape was only partially deformed<sup>f</sup>; as with the Head of a Dog, Hawk, or Ram; to denote Fidelity, Vigilance, or Strength; with the Feet and Thighs of a Goat, to represent Rusticity, Agility, or Lust; And this gave birth to their *Anubis*, *Pan*, and *Jupiter Ammon*: But where the Subject required a full Catalogue of the Hero's Virtues or Qualities, there they used an Assemblage of the several Parts of various Animals; each of which, in Hieroglyphic Writing, was significative of a several quality; in which Assemblage, that Animal which was the more peculiar Representative of the God was the most conspicuous. This will explain the Verse of *Anticlides* in his Hymn to the Sun,

Ἡέλιος ὃ Νότιο Ἀνάξ ΙΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The *Sun* was generally expressed by a Hawk, but *which*, under various Considerations had the various Parts of other Animals added to it.

<sup>f</sup> Εἰκασαι παρ' αὐτοῖς τις μίχρα τροχίλου ἀνθρωποειδής, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ὄρνις, ἢ λέων, ἢ ἄλλος τινὸς ζῶος κεκλιμένον· καὶ πάλιν αὐ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπίνας, καὶ ἄλλων τινων ζῶων μέρη πῶ μ' ἐπικείμενα, πῇ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. *Porph. de Abst.* l. iv.

4. That Animal which was worshipped in one City was sacrificed in another. Thus, tho' at *Memphis* they adored the Ox, at *Mendes* the Goat, and at *Thebes* the Ram; yet in one place or other each of these Animals was used in Sacrifice: But Bulls and Clean Calves were offered up throughout all *Egypt*. The Reason of this can be only that at *Memphis* the Ox, was in Hieroglyphic Learning, the Symbol of some Deity; at *Mendes* the Goat, and at *Thebes* the Ram; but the Bull and Calf no where: For what else can be said for the Original of so fantastical a diversity in Representative Deities within a Kingdom of one national Religion? — But further, the same Animal was prosecuted, in one place, with Divine Honours; in another, with the direst Execrations: Thus, at *Arfinoë*, the Crocodile was adored; because having no Tongue it was made the Symbol of the Divinity<sup>ε</sup>; elsewhere it was had in Horror, because made the Symbol of *Typhon*<sup>h</sup>; that is, it was used as an *Hieroglyphic Character* in the History both of their *Natural* and *Civil* Theology.

5. Brute-Worship was at first altogether objective to their Hero Gods; of whom Animals were but the Representatives. This is seen from the Rank they hold on ancient Monuments, and from the unvaried Worship of some few of them, as the

<sup>ε</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, in general, that the *Egyptians* thus considered the Crocodile; but he delivering a false Original of Animal Worship, it was not to his Purpose to tell us it was so considered in *Symbolic Writing*: — ε μὲν εἰς ὃ Κροκόδειλον αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιβῆ· αν ἔχκει τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ εἰ μίμημα θεῶν λέγει γιγνέναι, μόνον μὲν ἄγλωσσον ὦν· φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῶν λόγον ἀπεροσδεῖς ἐστίν. — *De Is. Et Osir.*

<sup>h</sup> The subsequent Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* soon made this the Foundation of a Fable, that the Soul of *Typhon* had passed into a Crocodile, that *Typhon* had assumed that Figure, &c. See *Eliau's Hist. of Animals*, lib. x. cap. 21.

*Apis,*

*Apis*, which still continued to be adored as the Representative of *Osiris*.

6. But to put the matter yet further out of question, it may be observed that the most early Brute-Worship in *Egypt* was not an Adoration of the living Animal, but only of the Picture or Image of it. Now was the Original of Brute-Worship any other than what we here deliver, the *living Animal* must have been *first* worshipped, and the *Image* of it but an *attendant* Superstition; whereas it was just otherwise, as we shall now see. From the *Second Commandment*, and MOSES's *Exhortation to Obedience*, it appears that the *Egyptians* at the time of the *Exodus*, worshipped no *living Animal*, but the *Picture* or *Image* only: — "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any Likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them<sup>i</sup>." Thus speaks the Law of the *First Table*; by which we not only see that this Brute-Worship was under an *Image*, but that such Image was Symbolical of *Gods* different from the Animal pictured, and alluded to in the Words, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*. Another thing observable in this *Law* is, that not only the making Pictures and Images *for Adoration* was forbid, but the *simple* making of them at all. And thus the *Jews* understood it. The Consequence was, that *Hieroglyphics* were forbid; a plain Proof of their being the Source of that Idolatry in question. MOSES, in his *Exhortation*, paraphrases and explains this Law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto your selves (for ye saw no manner of Similitude on the

<sup>i</sup> EXOD. XX. 3, 4, 5.

" day

“ day that the LORD spoke to you in Horeb, out of  
 “ the midst of the Fire) left ye corrupt yourselves  
 “ and make you a Graven Image, the Similitude of  
 “ any Figure the Likeness of *Male or Female*, the  
 “ Likeness of any Beast that is on the Earth, the  
 “ Likeness of any winged Fowl that flieth in the  
 “ Air, the Likeness of any thing that creepeth on  
 “ the Ground, the Likeness of any Fish that is in  
 “ the Waters beneath the Earth<sup>k</sup>. ” There are  
 two remarkable Conclusions to be drawn from the  
 Reason of this Exhortation, — *for you saw no man-  
 ner of Similitude, &c.* the *first* is, that the *Egyptian*  
 Brute-Worship was *Symbolical*; the *other*, that *MOSES*’s  
 prime Intention was to warn the People a-  
 gainst representing the *GOD of Israel* under the  
 Shape of Men or Animals, in the manner that the  
*Egyptians* worshipped their Greater Gods. This Ob-  
 servation will open our way to the next Circum-  
 stance, whereby we shew that the Worship of the  
 living Animal was not yet in use amongst the *E-  
 gyptians*, and that is the idolatrous Erection of the  
*Golden Calf*. The People now suspecting they had  
 lost *MOSES*, whom they were taught to consider as  
 the Vicegerent, or Representative of their *GOD*,  
 grew impatient for another; and, besotted with *E-  
 gyptian* Superstitions, chose for this Representative  
 the same that the *Egyptians* used for the Symbol of  
 their Great God *Osiris*. Interpreters seem to run  
 into two different Extremes in explaining this mat-  
 ter, *some* conceiving that the *Israelites* worshipped an  
*Egyptian God* under the *Golden Calf*; tho’ the Wor-  
 shippers themselves expressly declare the contrary:  
 “ These (say they) be thy Gods, O *Israel*, which  
 “ brought thee up out of the Land of *Egypt*<sup>l</sup>. ”  
 Now they knew, if they knew any thing at all,

<sup>k</sup> DEUT. iv. 15, 16, 17.<sup>l</sup> EXOD. xxxii. 4.

that

that they were *brought out*, in opposition to the Gods of *Egypt*. Others suppose the Calf was not made in Imitation of any *Egyptian* Symbol whatsoever, because it was the living *Apis* that represented *Osiris*: But we see the Worship of the living Animal was not yet introduced. However in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the *Egyptians* began to worship the *Animal itself*; which Worship, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its Image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium atque ipsa magis animalia*, says *Pomponius Mela*<sup>m</sup> of the *Egyptians*; and this naturally gave birth to new Superstitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populum omnium numen est. Bos niger, certis maculis insignis — raro nascitur, nec coitu pecoris (ut aiunt) fed divinitus & cœlesti igne conceptus*.

These Considerations are sufficient to shew that *Hieroglyphics* were indeed the Original of Brute-Worship; and how easy it was for the *Egyptians* to fall into it from the use of this kind of Writing we are now to consider: In these Hieroglyphics was recorded the History of their greater and tutelary Deities, their Kings and Lawgivers, represented by Animals and other Creatures. The Symbol of each God was well known and familiar to his Worshippers, by means of the popular Paintings and Engravings on their Temples and other sacred Monuments; so that the Symbol presenting the Idea of the God, and that Idea exciting Sentiments of Religion, it was natural for them, in their Addresses to any particular God, to turn to his Representative Mark or Symbol; especially if we reflect that when the *Egyptian* Priests began to speculate, and grow mysterious, they feigned a divine

<sup>m</sup> *De Sit. Orb.* lib. i. cap. 9.

Original for Hieroglyphic Characters, in order to render them still more august and venerable. This would of course bring on a *relative* Devotion to these Symbolic *Figures*; which, when it came to be paid to the living Animal, would soon terminate in an *ultimate*.

But the occasional Propensity to this Superstition was, without question, forwarded and encouraged by the Priesthood; for it much supported the Worship of the Hero Deities, by making their Theology more intricate; and by keeping out of sight, what greatly weakened religious Veneration in remote Posterity, the naked Truth, that they were only *dead Men* deified: And these Advantages they *afterwards* improved with notable Address; by making those Symbols as well relative to *new conceived* imaginary Qualities and Influences of their first *natural* Gods, the *Host of Heaven*, as to what they properly respected, in Hieroglyphic Writing, their later Heroes and tutelary Deities: Which Trick, invented to keep the *Egyptians* in their Superstitions, spread so impenetrable an Obscurity over Paganism, as hindered the most sagacious Philosophers and knowing Antiquaries of *Greece* from ever gaining a right View of the Rise and Progress of their own Idolatry.

And, if I be not much mistaken, it was the Design of these *Egyptian* Priests to commemorate the Advantages of their Contrivance in that celebrated Fable<sup>n</sup> of *Typhon's* War with the Gods; whom he so greatly distressed and terrified, that they fled into *Egypt*; and there hid themselves under the Forms of divers Animals, to avoid the Earth-born Giants Persecution. This Adventure is related by *Ovid* in

<sup>n</sup> *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 54. *St. Ed.* informs us that this was an *Egyptian* Fable; as does *Lucian* in his *Traët de Sacrificiis*.

a very

a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious *Pierides* sing it, in their Contest with the *Muses* :

*Bella canit Superum* : Falſoque in honore Gigantes  
*Ponit*, & extenuat magnorum facta deorum.  
*Emiſſumque ima de ſede Typhoëa terræ*  
*Cælitibus feciſſe metum* ; cunctoſque dediſſe  
*Terga fugæ*. Donec feſſos *Ægyptia tellus*  
*Ceperit*, & ſeptem diſcretus in oſtia Nilus.  
*Huc quoque terrigenam veniſſe Typhoëa narrat*,  
*Et ſe mentitis ſuperos cælaſſe figuris* :  
*Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Júpiter* : unde recurvis  
 Nunc quoque formatus Libys eſt cum cornibus  
 Ammon.

*Delius in corvo, proles Semelëia Capro*,  
*Fele ſoror Phæbi, nivea Saturnia vacca*,  
*Piſce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Iſidis alis* °.

*Typhon*, with the *Egyptians*, was the Exemplar of Impiety ; ſo that under that Name we are to underſtand the *inquiſitive*, which the Priests always furnamed *the impious* ; ſuch as the celebrated *Eubemerus* of Greece : Theſe, in a malicious Search into the Genealogies of their Gods, had ſo near detected their Original, and conſequently endangered their Worſhip, that the Priests had nothing left but to perplex and embarraſs the Enquiry, by encouraging the Symbolic Worſhip as explained above. Hence this Fable (in which they celebrated the Subtilty of their Expedient) that *Egypt* afforded a Place of Refuge for the Gods, who there lay hid under the *Forms of Beaſts* ; where we muſt obſerve that the Shape each God was ſaid to have aſſumed, was that of his Symbolic Mark in Hieroglyphic

° *Metam. Lib. v. Fab. 5.*

Writing.

Writing<sup>p</sup>. Indeed *Antonius Liberalis*<sup>q</sup> differs from *Ovid* in the particular Transformations; and *Lucian*<sup>r</sup>, from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our Interpretation; each God, as we have seen, being denoted by *divers* Hieroglyphics.

If this Explanation, so easy and natural, needed a Support, we might find one in what the *Egyptian* Theologues themselves delivered concerning this matter. *Diodorus Siculus* speaking of the difficulty in discovering the true Original of *Egyptian* Brute-Worship, says, that the Priests preserved a most profound Secret concerning it<sup>s</sup>: A strong Presumption that the Origin we assign was that Secret; it being the only one (as we shall see when we come to speak of the Causes which the *Ancients* assigned of this Worship) that the Priests were much concerned to keep to themselves; the Cause given

<sup>p</sup> *Sis*, in the Eastern Languages signified a *Swallow*, under whose Form, as this Fable says, *Isis* hid herself; and *Bubaste*, which signifies a *Cat*, was the *Egyptian* Name of *Diana*, who took that Shape. Hence the excellent *Bochart* supposes, in his usual way, that the Original of this Fable was only an *equivoque* of some *Greek* Inventer, whose Countrymen delighted in the marvelous. But 1. The Fable was not of *Greek* Invention, if we may believe *Diodorus* and *Lucian*; the latter of whom, speaking of the *Egyptian* Account of it, says, — ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς αἰδύτοις διακείμεναι γράφοντα, πρὶν ἢ πρὸς ἰσθμὺν μυθίων, *de Sacrificiis*. 2. This only places the Difficulty a step backward, does not remove it. For it may be asked, How came the *Egyptian* Name of *Diana* to signify a *Cat*; or the Word *Sis* or *Isis* to signify a *Swallow*? Can any other good Reason be given but this, that these Goddesses were expressed by those *Symbols* in Hieroglyphic Writing? Agreeably to this, *Horapollo* tells us [lib. i. cap. 7.] that the Hieroglyphic for the *Soul* was a *Hawk*, which in the *Egyptian* Tongue was called *Baieth*, a Word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the first of which signified, in that Language, the *Soul*; the other the *Heart*: For according to the *Egyptians* the Heart was the Inclosure of the *Soul*. But if this be the Case, what we have given above seems to be the more natural Original of the Story.

<sup>q</sup> Cap. xxviii.      <sup>r</sup> *De Sacrif.*      <sup>s</sup> Οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν διακείμενοι τοῖς δόγμασι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν — lib. i. p. 54.

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assigned had escaped them; which, probably, if attended to, had put an end to all further Conjectures. But as they chanced to fall into Variety of other Notions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them; what I can at present recollect, or are worth remembering, are these:

1. That which supposes Brute-Worship to have arisen, From the Benefits Men receive of Animals.

2. From the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

3. From the *Egyptian* use of Asterisms.

4. From their Notion of God's pervading all things.

5. From their using Animals as Symbols of the Divine Nature.

6. From the Invention of a certain *Egyptian* King for his private Ends of Policy.

Here I think are all the Opinions of moment on this matter: Of these we may observe in general, that the fourth and fifth are least wide of the Truth, as making Brute-Worship *Symbolical*: But the Defect common to them all is that they conclude for the *Generality* of this Worship throughout Paganism; whereas it was in Fact *peculiar* to the *Egyptians*, and seen and owned to be so by the Maintainers of these very Opinions.

I. The first Opinion is that of CICERO\*, which supposes the Original to be *a grateful Sense of Benefits received from Animals*. This labours under all

\* *Ipsi qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam Beluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. — Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium consecratas. Nat. Deor. l. i. cap. 36:* this, in the Person of Cotta the Academic. How ill it agrees with what the same Cotta says afterwards, I have shewn above: *Omne ferè genus Bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. lib. iii. cap. 15.* Now this latter being a real Fact, it quite overthrows the foregoing Principle. The wonder is that Tully

the

the Defects of an inadequate Cause, as concluding both too much, and too little: *Too much*; because on this ground Brute-Worship would have been common to all Nations; but it was peculiar to the *Egyptians* and their Colonies: *Too little*; 1. because on this ground none but *useful* Animals should have been worshipped; whereas several of the most *useless* and *noxious* <sup>w</sup> were held sacred. 2. *Plant-Worship* must then, in the Nature of Things, have been

shou'd not see it did so. — But it was a plausible Notion, and the Ancients were fond of it. When *Plutarch* [*Is. & Os.*] had said the *Jews* worshipped Swine, not content with the simple Calumny, he would invent a Reason for it; and took up this which lay so commodiously for these Occasions; namely, Gratitude to that Animal for having taught Men to plow the Ground.

<sup>w</sup> A Passage in *Eusebius* strongly confirms our Opinion of the Origin of Brute-Worship, and, consequently, accounts for the Adoration paid to *noxious* Animals: 'Ο ὅς αὐτίς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐν τῇ Σαλχωνιαθῶν μελαβάλων, θία ὅποια φησι περὶ τῶν ἐρπυσίων καὶ ἰοσίλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις ἐδεμίαν (σωτὴρ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἷς αὐτῶν δυσσυχὴ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰόν ἰσχυρὰ φέρειν ἀπεργάζεσθαι). γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λίξιν ὠδέπως λέγων. Τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ Δρακονίῳ φύσιν καὶ τῇ Ὀφείων αὐτίς ἐξεδείκασεν ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐθις Φοινίκης τε καὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ. [*Pr. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 10.*] Consider again what he [*Philo*] says, in his Translation of the Phenician Elements from Sanchoniathon, concerning certain Reptiles and other venomous Animals, which not only bring no Benefit to Man, but certain Mischief and Destruction on whomsoever they shed their deadly Venom. These are his very Words. Taausus therefore consecrated the Species of Dragons and Serpents, and the Phenicians and Egyptians afterwards went along with him in this matter. — The Quotation from *Philo* then goes on to shew from the Nature of the Serpent-kind, why it was made a Symbol of the Divinity. — The Discourse of *Sanchoniathon* here mentioned, as translated by *Philo*, was Part of a larger Work, which he wrote concerning the Phenician and Egyptian Wisdom and Learning, and treated of *Hieroglyphic Characters*, as appears from the Title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter Word has been shewn to be the technical Term for *Hieroglyphics*: But how a Digression, concerning the Consecration of noxious Animals should come into this Discourse, unless the Author understood *Hieroglyphics* to be the Origin of *Brute-Worship*, is hard to conceive.

assigned had escaped them; which, probably, if attended to, had put an end to all further Conjectures. But as they chanced to fall into Variety of other Notions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them; what I can at present recollect, or are worth remembering, are these:

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prior to or at least coeval with that of *Brutes*. But we know it was much later; and, on our Account of this matter, can give a good Reason why it was so: For the *vegetable* World was not explored to find out Hieroglyphical Analogies 'till the *Animal* had been exhausted.

II. Neither could *the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis*, mentioned by DIODORUS\*, be the Origin of Brute-Worship: 1. Because that Opinion was common to all Nations; but Brute-Worship peculiar to *Egypt*. The Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* flourishes, at this day, with greater Vigour in *India* than, perhaps, it ever did in any Place or Age of the World; yet there it occasions no Worship, or Religious Veneration to those Animals supposed the Receptacles of departed Souls; a very excessive Charity towards them it does indeed afford: And this is the more remarkable, not only because this People are sunk into the most sordid Superstitions, but because being indeed given to Animal Worship (which they learnt of *Egypt*†) had the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* any natural Tendency to inflame that Superstition, the *Indians*, by this time, had been totally devoted to it. 2. Because it was never believed by the *ancient Egyptians*, that *Heroic* and *Demonic* Souls were subject to the common Law of the *Metempsychosis*‡; therefore this Opinion that

\* *Diodorus* delivers this Original, in a relation of the Superstition concerning the *Apis*: Τῆς δὲ βουὸς τὰτα τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔτι μοι φέρεται, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντες Ὀσίαντες, εἰς τὸν ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶ μέλει, καὶ ἀφ' ταύτης ἀφ' ἑλεί μέρει δὲ νῦν αἰεὶ καὶ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτῶ μετισταμένη πρὸς τὰς μεταγενέστερας. lib. i. p. 54.

† As appears from hence, that those few Animals, the Objects of it, were such as formerly were most revered in *Egypt*; and into these no Souls are doomed by the Law of Transmigration; the Reason of which we shall see presently.

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supposes Transmigration to be the Origin of Brute-Worship, must suppose Brutes venerated as the Receptacle of human Souls become deified: But the *ancient Egyptians* deified none but *Heroic* or *Demonic* Souls. 3. The Intrusion of those Souls into Brutes, according to the Law of Transmigration, was understood to be in Punishment for Crimes. Their Prison-House therefore could never become the Object of Adoration; but rather of Aversion and Abhorrence; as all *subterraneous* Fire was amongst the *ancient Romans*, and that of *Purgatory* amongst the *modern*. 4. Lastly, the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* was much later than the first Practice of Brute-Worship; and plainly invented to remove Objections against Providence<sup>a</sup>, when Men became philosophically speculative<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. i. Ed. 2. p. 137. What seems to have given birth to *this* Opinion of the Origin of Brute-Worship, was the Fancy of the later *Egyptians*, that the Soul of *Osiris* resided in the *Apis*. This *Diodorus* much confirms, where reckoning up the several Opinions concerning the Origin of Brute-Worship, when he comes to that of the *Metempsychosis*, he delivers it in a Relation of this Notion of the common People concerning *Osiris* and *Apis*. See Note v.

<sup>b</sup> An Examination of a Passage of *Herodotus* by one of the greatest Writers of this Age will confirm our Reasoning. I had quoted this Passage [Vol. i. p. 90.] to prove the *Egyptians* first taught the Immortality of the Soul; and in this Sense I believe it was generally understood; but I think too inconsiderately. This occasioned the fine Criticism which I am going to give the Reader, and for which he will owe me his Thanks. It will be proper to transcribe the whole Passage: Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τίνδε τὸ λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστὶ· ὃ σῶμα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐσθλόν, ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσθλόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τὰ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσθλόν· τὸ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γένεσιν ἐν τετραχίλεισι ἔτεσι. ΤΟΥΤΩ, ΤΩ, ΛΟΓΩ, εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρησάμενοι, οἱ μὲν, πρῶτον, οἱ δὲ, ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἐαυτοῦ ἐόντι· τὸ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ νόματά, εἰ γέγραφα. *Herod. Euterpe. c. cxxiii.*— On which this excellent Writer thus:—“When I first read the Passage in *Mar-*”

assigned had escaped them; which, probably, if attended to, had put an end to all further Conjectures. But as they chanced to fall into Variety of other Notions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them; what I can at present recollect, or are worth remembering, are these:

1. That which supposes Brute-Worship to have arisen, From the Benefits Men receive of Animals.

2. From the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

3. From the *Egyptian* use of Asterisms.

4. From their Notion of God's pervading all things.

5. From their using Animals as Symbols of the Divine Nature.

6. From the Invention of a certain *Egyptian* King for his private Ends of Policy.

Here I think are all the Opinions of moment on this matter: Of these we may observe in general, that the fourth and fifth are least wide of the Truth, as making Brute-Worship *Symbolical*: But the Defect common to them all is that they conclude for the *Generality* of this Worship throughout Paganism; whereas it was in Fact *peculiar* to the *Egyptians*, and seen and owned to be so by the Maintainers of these very Opinions.

I. The first Opinion is that of CICERO\*, which supposes the Original to be *a grateful Sense of Benefits received from Animals*. This labours under all

\* *Ipsi qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam Beluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent, consecraverunt. — Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium consecratas. Nat. Deor. l. i. cap. 36:* this, in the Person of Cotta the Academic. How ill it agrees with what the same Cotta says afterwards, I have shewn above: *Omne ferè genus Bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. lib. iii. cap. 15.* Now this latter being a real Fact, it quite overthrows the foregoing Principle. The wonder is that Tully

the



the Defects of an inadequate Cause, as concluding both too much, and too little: *Too much*; because on this ground Brute-Worship would have been common to all Nations; but it was peculiar to the *Egyptians* and their Colonies: *Too little*; 1. because on this ground none but *useful* Animals should have been worshipped; whereas several of the most *useless* and *noxious* <sup>w</sup> were held sacred. 2. *Plant-Worship* must then, in the Nature of Things, have been

shou'd not see it did so. — But it was a plausible Notion, and the Ancients were fond of it. When *Plutarch* [*Is. & Os.*] had said the *Jews* worshipped Swine, not content with the simple Calumny, he would invent a Reason for it; and took up this which lay so commodiously for these Occasions; namely, Gratitude to that Animal for having taught Men to plow the Ground.

<sup>w</sup> A Passage in *Eusebius* strongly confirms our Opinion of the Origin of Brute-Worship, and, consequently, accounts for the Adoration paid to *noxious* Animals: 'Ο ὅς αὐτίς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαφεινισθῶν μεταβαλὼν, διὰ ὁποῖα φησι περὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοσίλων θηρίων, ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν ἢ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώποις ἢ δειμίων (ὡς ἐλεῖ, φθορᾶν καὶ λύμην οἷς ἂν τὸ δυσάλγη καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν ἰχλεῖν μψεν ἀπεργάζεσθαι). γράφει ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λίξιν ὠδέπως λέγων. Τῷ μὲν ἂν ὁ Δράκοντι φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὀφειῶν αὐτίς ἐξέδεικται ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐτὸς Φοινικὴς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιος. [*Pr. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 10.*] Consider again what he [*Philo*] says, in his Translation of the Phenician Elements from Sanchoniathon, concerning certain Reptiles and other venomous Animals, which not only bring no Benefit to Man, but certain Mischief and Destruction on whomsoever they shed their deadly Venom. These are his very Words. Tautus therefore consecrated the Species of Dragons and Serpents, and the Phenicians and Egyptians afterwards went along with him in this matter. — The Quotation from *Philo* then goes on to shew from the Nature of the Serpent-kind, why it was made a Symbol of the Divinity. — The Discourse of *Sanchoniathon* here mentioned, as translated by *Philo*, was Part of a larger Work, which he wrote concerning the Phenician and Egyptian Wisdom and Learning, and treated of Hieroglyphic Characters, as appears from the Title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter Word has been shewn to be the technical Term for Hieroglyphics: But how a Digression, concerning the Consecration of noxious Animals should come into this Discourse, unless the Author understood Hieroglyphics to be the Origin of Brute-Worship, is hard to conceive.

prior to or at least coeval with that of *Brutes*. But we know it was much later; and, on our Account of this matter, can give a good Reason why it was so: For the *vegetable* World was not explored to find out Hieroglyphical Analogies 'till the *Animal* had been exhausted.

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*sham* several Years ago, I consulted *Herodotus*, and thought that

III. The third Opinion we find supported by LUCIAN<sup>c</sup>; which is, that *the Egyptian Invention of distinguishing the Constellations, and marking each of them with the Name of an Animal, gave the first occasion to Brute-Worship.* But 1. the same Obje-

“ *Marsham* had mistaken the Sense. I have now considered the  
 “ Passage again as it lies in *Herodotus*, and I will make you judge  
 “ of the Reasons why I still doubt whether you and Sir *John*  
 “ *Marsham* have given the right Sense of the Passage: It begins  
 “ with the Words quoted by you, and ends at these, ἢ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς  
 “ τὰ ἀνέματα, ἔγγίζω. The *Egyptians* are said to be the Au-  
 “ thors of *this λόγος*, that the Soul is immortal, but that, on the  
 “ Dissolution of the Body, it passes εἰς ἄλλο ζῶον &c. — The Que-  
 “ tion is, whether the Discovery attributed to the *Egyptians* re-  
 “ lates to the *first* Part, the Immortality; or to the *second*, the  
 “ Doctrine of Transmigration; or to *both*. To know what *He-*  
 “ *rodotus* meant precisely, we must go to the latter part of the  
 “ Passage, τῶν πρὸς λόγων εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο &c. now the  
 “ τῶν πρὸς λόγων here means precisely the same thing with the  
 “ τίςδε ὁ λόγος, which the *Egyptians* are said to be the first Au-  
 “ thors of. Do you think that *Herodotus* could mean to say of  
 “ the Immortality that *some Greeks*, whom he could name if he  
 “ would, taught it as an *Invention* of their own? Surely the No-  
 “ tion of the Immortality was too common in *Greece*, for *Hero-*  
 “ *dotus* to speak of it as the *Opinion*, and claimed as the *Inven-*  
 “ *tion* of *some few* whom he could name\*. But if he spoke of  
 “ the Doctrine of Transmigration, he truly said that *some*  
 “ *Greeks* had taught it as a Doctrine of their own. (ὡς ἰδίῳ ἐωυ-  
 “ τῷ) If then this latter Part can relate only to the Doctrine of  
 “ Transmigration, the first Part can relate to no more; for *He-*  
 “ *rodotus* speaks of the same λόγος in both Parts.

“ It is very unnatural to suppose the Notion of Immortality and  
 “ the Doctrine of Transmigration are of the same date. It may  
 “ as well be imagined that the *Cycles* and *Epicycles* in the old A-  
 “ stronomy were as old as the Knowledge of the Planets Motion:  
 “ And therefore to join those two together, as the *one Invention*  
 “ ascribed to the *Egyptians* by *Herodotus*, is putting things together  
 “ naturally separated; the Doctrine of Transmigration being the  
 “ Consequence, and, perhaps, a late Consequence from the No-  
 “ tion of Immortality. That the Notion of Transmigration  
 “ came from *Egypt* all agree. That, in reporting this Opinion,

\* See the only Objection to this removed, p. 423, 424, 425, 426. of the first Volume, 2<sup>d</sup> Ed t.

ction lies against this Solution as against the two preceding: For this way of distinguishing the Astrisms was in use in all Nations, but Brute-Worship confined to *Egypt* and its Colonies. 2. This way of solving one Difficulty creates a greater: For now

“ *Herodotus* should mention the Immortality, which was the Foundation of it, is no wonder, tho’ he meant not to ascribe it to the Invention of the *Egyptians*.

“ I think too the Language of *Herodotus* favours this Interpretation, — *τὸνδε τὸ λόγον* — may be rendered *this Account*. — “ The *Egyptians* first gave *this Account* that the Soul is immortal, but on the Dissolution of the Body she goes into another kind of Animal. — This then is *an Account* of Immortality, — and “ *this Account* given of Immortality is the *thing invented*, and not “ the Immortality itself. *Valla*, in the latter part of the Passage renders *τέτω τῷ λόγῳ* — *hanc rationem*. The Notion of Immortality amongst the *Egyptians* was older than *this Account* “ of Transmigration, as appears by what is said of their embalming, — that it was founded on an Opinion that the Soul “ would not leave the Body so long as it could be preserved, but “ would hover about it. This Notion could not be reconciled to “ that of Transmigration, unless the Transmigration was suspended as long as the Body was preserved. — Possibly some such “ thing may be intimated in the Words of *Herodotus*, & *Σώμα- τος ἡ ΚΑΤΑΦΘΙΝΟΝΤΟΣ*. *Servius* on *Virgil Æn.* III. ὕ 67. “ *Ægyptii periti sapientiæ condita diutius reseruant cadavera, scilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, & corpori sit obnoxia, nec cito ad aliud transeat*. The old Opinion plainly appears to be “ that which was connected with the Sepulchral Rites, and when “ the Notion of Transmigration prevailed, an absurd Exception “ was made for the Soul’s Attendance on the Body, that the Opinion, *tot cæremoniis consecrata*, might be preserved. I now “ leave, &c.” Thus far this illustrious Person.

“ Οἱ ὃ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμήσαντο πολλῶν μέρων· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ παντὶ ἦεν, καὶ ἀτέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ δύσταθίων, καὶ ἐν ἅμα κινεσθῆναι, δυνάμει μοίρας ἐτάμοιο ἐν τοῖσι κινεσθῆναι, καὶ οἰκῆα ζῶα ἐόντα, ἑκάστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφήν μεμιμέα) — ἀπὸ τῶν δὴ καὶ ἐρεθὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιεῖ)· ὃ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῷ δυνάμει μοίρας πασῶν ἐμνημόνεον, ἄλλοι δὲ, ἀλλοίησι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρῆστο· καὶ κετὸν μὲν ἑβένῳ, ὅποσοι ἐς κετὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ ὃς ἑβένῳ, ὅποσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημύοντο· ἐδὲ τρέγον κτείνων, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ἦδσαν — καὶ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τιμὴν τῷ ἡγεῖα ταύτῃ (εἰς τὸν). *De Astrologia*.

what

what is there left in Antiquity<sup>d</sup> to account for so extraordinary a Custom as the giving to one *Constellation* the Figure of a Ram, to another a Scorpion, &c. when, in the Disposition of those Stars there was not so much Resemblance to any one Part of any Animal as was sufficient even to set the Imagination on work to fancy out the rest. But if, for distinction sake, those things were to have a *Name* which had no *Shape*; why, as being of such Regard, were they not rather honoured with the Titles of their Heroes than of their Brutes? Would the polite *Egyptian* Priests, who first animalized the Asterisms, do like *Tom Otter* in the Comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to Court? Would they prefer them into Heaven before they had made any considerable Figure upon Earth? The matter of fact is, indeed, just otherwise. It was Brute-Worship that gave Birth to the *Egyptian* Asterism, not the Asterism to Brute-Worship: That the Constellations were first distinguished and intitled by the *Egyptians* is agreed on; that they were much later than the Beginning of Brute-Worship is as evident; the Multitude of Stars not being thus sorted into Bands, 'till the *Egyptian* Priests had made some considerable Progress in Astronomy. But Brute-Worship, as we have seen, was prior to the Time of *Moses*. Now when they began to rank the Stars into Constellations, a Name was necessary to keep up the Distinction; and the Animals now become Religious Symbols of their Gods very aptly afforded that Distinction: For 1. it did Honour to their Heroes; 2. it supported their *Astrology*, (which always went

<sup>d</sup> I say in Fact and *Antiquity*: For as to the Solution of this Point by the Liberty of imagining, nothing is more easy. The *French* Author of *the History of the Heavens* has, by the mere Force of Fancy, removed all these Difficulties; not only without any Support from Antiquity, but in even Spite of it.

along,

along, and was often confounded with their Astronomy) as it was understood to imply that their Country Gods had now taken up their Residence in Constellations of benign Influence.

Let me conclude this Head with observing that the Footsteps of their *Egyptian* Derivation still remain in the common Characters of the *Signs*; these being indeed the Vestiges of *Curiologic Hieroglyphics*, contracted into a Running-hand Character like that of the *Chinese*. This is seen more particularly in the Astronomic Marks of *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Libra*, and *Aquarius*.

IV. Nor is there any better Foundation for the fourth Opinion, which is that of PORPHYRY<sup>e</sup>; who supposes that *the Doctrine of GOD's pervading all things was the Original of Brute-Worship*. But, 1. it proves too much: for according to this, *every thing* would have been the Object of divine Worship amongst the early *Egyptians*, but we know many were not. 2. According to this, *nothing* could have been the Object of Execration amongst them, but we know many were. 3. This was never an Opinion of the *People*, but of a few of the *Learned* only: 4. And those not of the *Learned* of *Egypt*, but of *Greece*<sup>f</sup>. In a word, this pretended Original of Brute-Worship was only an Invention of their later Philosophers, to hide the Deformities, and to support the Credit of declining Paganism.

V. Cousin-german to this, and invented for the same end, is what we find in JAMBLICUS<sup>g</sup>; namely,

<sup>e</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τ' ἀπλήσεως, καὶ τ' πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκείωσις, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων μόνον τὸ θεῖον διήλθεν, ἔτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατέσκηνωσεν, ἀλλὰ χεῖρον ἢ αὐτὴ ἀφ' ἀνθρώπων διήλθεν τῷ ζῶντι διὸ εἰς τὸ θεοποιῖαν παρελάβον πάντες ζῶντες. — *De Abst.* lib. iv.

<sup>f</sup> See Vol. i. p. 419, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> Πρότερον δὲ σοι βέλομαι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ τὸ τέχπον τῷ θεολογίας διεμελίσθαι· ἔτσι γὰρ τὸ φύσει τῷ παντί, καὶ τῷ δημιουργίῳ τῷ θεῷ

That Brutes were deified only as the Symbols of the first Cause, considered in all his Attributes and Relations. Groundless as this Fancy is, yet it having been embraced by our best Philologists, such as *Cudworth*, *Vossius*, *Kircher*, on the Faith of those Fanatics, and inveterate Enemies to Christianity, *Porphyry* and *Jamblicus*, I shall endeavour to expose it: This will be best done by an Enquiry into the Rise and Order of the *three great Species of Idolatry*. The first, in time, was, as we have shewn, the Worship of the *Heavenly Bodies*; which continued unmixed 'till the Institution of Political Society: But then another Species arose, in the Deification of *dead Kings and Lawgivers*. This was the Course of Idolatry every where as well as in *Egypt*; but there the Method of recording the History of their Hero Gods in *improved Hieroglyphics* gave birth to the third Species of Idolatry, *Brute-Worship*; and this was peculiar to *Egypt* and its Colonies. Now as the Method *used by all Men*, of ingrafting Hero-Worship on Star-Worship, occasioned (as we have shewn<sup>h</sup>) the Philologists to mistake the former as Symbolical of the latter; so the Method, *used by the Egyptians*, mentioned a little before<sup>h</sup>, of *supporting* Brute-Worship, which was really Symbolical of their Hero-Gods, made the same Writers think it was *originally* Symbolical of Star-Gods, and even of the first Cause. Thus the very learned *Vossius* fell

μιμήτριοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μουσικῶν καὶ ἀπικερυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινας ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἶδεσι τῆς ἀφανῆς λόγους ἀφ' ὑμῶν, τρέπον τινα, ἀπειτυπώσατο· ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιουργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν ἀφ' ὧν φαίνονται εἰκόνας ὑπεργράψατο· εἰδότες δὲ χαίροντες πάντα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιώσει τὸ ὑποδεεσθῆναι, καὶ βελόριοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν ἔτι πλεονάζειν ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν διωκτὴν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ πρόσφορον αὐτοῖς τρέπον τὸ κεκερυμμένον ἐν τοῖς ὑμῶν μουσαγωγίας προσφέρουσιν. *De Myst. Egypt. Sect. 7. C. 1.*

<sup>h</sup> See Vol. i. p. 467, 468.

into



into two Mistakes: 1. That Hero-Worship was *Symbolical* of Star-Worship; 2. That Brute-Worship was *Symbolical* of the *same*. The Consequence of which was, that the System of Physical-Theology, which was, indeed, one of the last Sciences of the *Egyptian* School, was supposed one of the first; and the Hero-Worship, which was indeed the first Religion of the *Egyptian* Church, was supposed the last.

Now tho' the Opinion of this early *Physical Theology*, as explained by the *Greeks*, makes very much for the *high Antiquity* of *Egyptian* Learning, the Point I am upon; yet as my end is always Truth, whatever be, at any time, my particular Enquiry; I can with the same Pleasure confute an Error that supports my Opinions, as I can one that makes against them.

The common Notion of these Philologists, we see, brings Hero-Worship, by consequence, very low; and as some of their Followers have pursued that Consequence, I shall crave leave to examine their Reasonings. The learned Author of the *Connections* pushes the matter home: — “It does not appear from this Table [the *Bembine*] that the *Egyptians* worshipped any Idols of human Shape, at the time when this Table was composed, but rather on the contrary, all the Images herein represented, before which any Persons are described in Postures of Adoration, being the Figures of Birds, Beasts, or Fishes; this Table seems to have been delineated BEFORE the *Egyptians* worshipped the Images of Men and Women; WHICH WAS THE LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR IDOLATRY<sup>i</sup>.” Now the whole of this Observation will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical*

<sup>i</sup> *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, Vol. ii. p. 320.

Consequence drawn from a false Fact; let the Reader judge: *All the Images* (he says) *herein represented, before which any Persons are described, in Postures of Adoration, being the Figures of Birds, Beasts, and Fishes.* I was some time in doubt whether the learned Writer and I had seen the same Table: For in that given us by *Kircher*, the whole Body of the Picture is filled up with the greater *Egyptian* Gods in human Shape; before several of which, there are other human Figures in Postures of Adoration; unless the learned Writer will confine *that* Posture to *kneeling*, which yet he brings no higher than the Time of *Solomon*<sup>k</sup>. Some of these Worshippers are represented *sacrificing*, as at [S. V.] others in the act of *offering*, as at [M. N.]; and to Gods *introduced*, as at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ.] and [S. X.]: With regard to the kneeling *Postures of Adoration, to Birds, Beasts, and Fishes*, these are in a narrow Border that runs round the principal *Compartiments*. The learned Writer indeed seems to make a matter of it, that “all the Images that kneel, are represented as “paying their Worship to some Animal Figure; “there is not one Instance or Representation of this “Worship paid to an Image of human Form, either on the Border or in the Table<sup>l</sup>.” But surely there is no Mystery in this. The Table was apparently made for the Devotees of *Isis* in *Rome*: Now, amongst the *Romans* Brute-Worship was so uncommon that the Artist thought proper to mark it out by the most distinguished Posture of Adoration; while the Worship of the greater Hero-Gods, a Worship like their own, was sufficiently designed by the sole Acts of *Offering* and *Sacrifice*.

But now, even supposing the Fact to have been as the learned Writer represents it; How, I ask,

<sup>k</sup> *Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, Vol. ii. p. 317. <sup>l</sup> *Id.* p. 318.

would





would his Consequence follow, *That the Table was made BEFORE the Egyptians worshipped the Images of Men and Women.* It altogether depends on this false Supposition, that Brute-Worship was not Symbolical of Hero-Worship: But we have shewn it was. The learned Author himself must own that *Apis*, at least, was the Symbol of the Hero-God *Osiris*. But can any one believe he was not worshipped in his own Figure before that of an Ox? To say the truth, had his Fact been right, it had been a much better Consequence, *That the Table was made AFTER the Egyptians had generally left off worshipping the Images of Men and Women*; for it is certain the Symbolic Worship of Brutes brought human Images into disuse. It is without peradventure, that human Images of Hero-Gods were used in *Egypt* long before the Time of *Strabo*; yet he tells us <sup>m</sup>, that in their Temples, of which he gives a general Description, they either had no Images, or none of human Form, but that of some Beast. He could not mean in those Temples dedicated to Animals; for where had been the wonder of that? And this disuse of human Images will not appear strange to those who reflect on what has been said of these Symbols, which being supposed given by the Gods themselves, their use in Religious Worship would be thought most pleasing to the Donors.

This Conclusion is further strengthened by these two Considerations: 1. *The Age of the Table*, which is so far from being of the Antiquity conceived by the learned Writer, that it is the very latest of all the old *Egyptian* Monuments; as appears not only

<sup>m</sup> Τῆς δὲ καλασκαδῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἢ ἀγέθειας θιαύτης. Καὶ τῇ εἰς-  
 σολῶ τῇ εἰς τὸ τίμηρον &c. — μὲν δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὁ τοῦ  
 πύργου ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον. τῇ δὲ Σηκὸν Σύμμετρον, ξείαντος δὲ  
 ἰδῶν, ἢ οὕτως ἀνθρωπίνου μορφῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. *Geogr.*  
*lib. xvii. p. 1158, 1159. Amst. Ed.*

from

from the *Mixture of all kinds* of Hieroglyphic Characters to be found upon it, but from its *representing Isis in a Galley*, that is, as *the first Cause of all things*; which was a very late Notion<sup>n</sup>. 2. On almost all the *Obelisks*<sup>o</sup> in *Kircher's Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly most ancient, we see Adoration given to Idols in human Figures, and in the very way the learned Author so much insists upon, namely *Genuflexion*.

Thus tho' from the *Bembine Table* nothing can be concluded for the *high* Date of Heroic Image-Worship, nothing can be concluded for the *low*; yet the learned Writer will still suppose it; and endeavour to maintain his ground by *Fact* and *Reason*.

His Argument from Fact stands thus: — “The  
 “*Egyptians* relate a very remarkable Fable of the  
 “Birth of these five Gods. They say that *Rhea*  
 “lay privately with *Saturn*, and was with Child by  
 “him; that the Sun, upon finding out her Baseness,  
 “laid a Curse upon her that she should not  
 “be delivered in any Month or Year: That *Mer-*  
 “*cury* being in love with the Goddess lay with her  
 “also; and then played at Dice with the Moon,  
 “and won from her the seventy second Part of each  
 “Day, and made up of these Winnings five Days,  
 “which he added to the Year, making the Year  
 “to consist of three hundred sixty five Days, which  
 “before consisted of three hundred and sixty Days  
 “only; and that in these Days *Rhea* brought forth  
 “five Children, *Osiris*, *Orus*, *Typbo*, *Isis*, and *Nephtis*.  
 “We need not enquire into the Mythology of this Fable; what I remark from it is this,  
 “that the Fable could not be invented before the  
 “*Egyptians* had found out that the Year consisted

<sup>n</sup> See p. 71. of this Volume, Note (<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>o</sup> Namely the *Lateran* of *Rameffes*, the *Flaminian* of *Psammeticus*, the *Salustian*, and the *Constantinopolitan*.

“ of three hundred and sixty five Days, and consequently that by their own Accounts the five Deities said to be born on the five *επαγόμεναι*, or additional Days, were not deified before they knew that the Year had these five Days added to it; and this Addition to the Year was made about — A. M. 2665. a little after the Death of *Joshua* P.”

I agree with this learned Author, that *the Fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the Year consisted of three hundred and sixty five Days*; I agree with him, that *the Addition of the five Days might be made about A. M. 2665*; but I deny the Consequence, that *the five Gods were not deified before this Addition to the Year*; nay, that it will follow from the Fable, that the Makers and Venders of it *so* thought. What hath misled the learned Writer, seems to be his Supposition that they made the Fable to commemorate the Deification of the five Gods, whereas it was done to commemorate the insertion of the five Days; as appears from its being told in that figurative allegoric manner, in which the *Egyptians* usually conveyed the History of their Science; and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods concerned, in order to give the greater Reverence to the Inventions of Men. A Design to commemorate the *Time* of Deification, was so absurd a thing in the Politics of a Pagan Priest, that we can never think him guilty of it: It was his Business to throw *it* back before all time, or at least to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the Maker of this Fable intended to celebrate in *general* the *History* of these five Gods, can we think he, who was hunting after the marvelous, would confine his Invention by

the Barrier of Dates? a matter too so dangerous to insist upon. We know, and we *now, partly*, see the Reason, that the ancient Mythologists affected to confound all Chronology; a Mischief which has so jumbled together the crazy Edifice of ancient Times that all which the best Chronologists have been able to effect, has been sooner to bury themselves in its Ruins, than to lead others out of them: Besides, is it not evident that new Lies were every Year told of their old Gods. He that can doubt of that, let him consider how many Fables following Poets and Theologers have added to those which *Homer* and *Hesiod* recorded of the Gods; Fables whose Circumstances shew they were not invented when those ancient Bards sung of their Intrigues. In these later Tales we frequently find the Gods of *Greece* and *Egypt* concerned in Adventures whose Dates, if measured by their determined Synchronisms, would bring down the Births of these Gods to Ages even lower than their certainly-recorded Worship; the not attending to this has, as we shall see hereafter, egregiously misled the great Sir *Isaac Newton* in his *Chronology of the Greeks*. But we have a Case in point, and reported by the same Author *Plutarch*<sup>q</sup>, who tells us of another *Egyptian* Fable, which says, *That Typhon begot Hierosolymus and Judæus*<sup>r</sup>. But what then? must we conclude that *Typhon* was no earlier than the Name of *Judæus*; and not that this was a late Story told of him in Hatred and Contempt of the *Jews*?

In a word, this Practice of adding new Mythology to their old Divinity, is so notorious, that the learned Author himself could not forbear observing

<sup>q</sup> *If. & Of.*    <sup>r</sup> *Tacitus* seems to allude to this ridiculous Fable: *Quidam regnante Iside, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus Hierosolymo & Juda proximas in terras exoneratam.* *Hist. Lib. v. cap. ii.*

it:



it: "The *Egyptians* (says he) having first called "their Heroes by the Names of their *Sidereal* and " *Elementary* Deities ADDED IN TIME TO THE "HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SUCH "HEROES, A MYTHOLOGICAL *Account of their* " *Philosophical Opinions* concerning the Gods whose "Names had been given to such Heroes."

But says the learned Writer: "Had *Osiris*, *Orus*, " *Typho*, *Isis*, and *Nephthe* been esteemed Deities "before this additional length of the Year was apprehended, *we should not have had this, but some* " *other fabulous Account of their Birth transmitted* "to us". Here the *Premisses* and *Conclusion* are brought and drawn from two false Suppositions; the *Premisses*, that this Fable was invented to commemorate the Origin of these Gods; and the *Conclusion*, that we have *no other* fabulous Account of their Birth.

From *Fact*, the learned Writer comes to *Reason*; and speaking of the *Egyptian* Hero-Gods, which he supposes were *Ante-diluvian* Mortals, he says: — "But I do not imagine they were deified until "about this time of correcting the Year; for "when this Humour first began, it is not likely "that they made Gods of Men but just dead, of "whose Infirmities and Imperfections many Persons might be lively Witnesses; but they took "the Names of their first Ancestors, whom they "had been taught to honour for Ages, and whose "Fame had been growing by the Increase of Tradition, and all whose Imperfections had been "long buried, that it might be thought they never "had any. — It is hard to be conceived that a Set "of Men could ever be chosen by their Contemporaries to have divine Honours paid them whilst

“ numerous Persons were alive, who knew their  
 “ Imperfections, and who themselves or their im-  
 “ mediate Ancestors might have as fair a Pretence,  
 “ and come in Competition with them. *Alexander*  
 “ *the Great* had but ill Success in his Attempt to  
 “ make the World believe him the Son of *Jupiter*  
 “ *Ammon*; nor could *Nama Pompilius*, the second  
 “ King of *Rome*, make *Romulus’s* Translation to  
 “ Heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room  
 “ for subsequent Historians to report him killed by  
 “ his Subjects. Nor can I conceive that *Julius*  
 “ *Cæsar’s* Canonization, tho’ it was contrived more  
 “ politicly, would ever have stood long indisputa-  
 “ ble if the Light of *Christianity* had not appeared  
 “ so soon after this time as it did and impaired  
 “ the Credit of the Heathen Superstitions. The  
 “ Fame of deceased Persons must have Ages to  
 “ grow up to Heaven, and divine Honours cannot  
 “ be given with any shew of *Decency*, but by a  
 “ late Posterity.”

He says, *it is not likely they made Gods of Men but just dead, of whose Infirmities and Imperfections many Persons might be living Witnesses.* How likely shall be considered presently; but that they did in *fact* do so, the Ancients never made the least doubt. The learned *Eusebius*, a competent Judge, if ever there was any, of the Sentiments of Antiquity, delivers it as the most notorious of all Facts, that in the early Ages those who excelled in Wisdom, Strength, or Valour, or had eminently contributed to the common good, or greatly advanced the Arts of Life, were deified, either during their Life, or immediately on their decease<sup>w</sup>: This he

<sup>v</sup> *Connect.* Vol. ii. p. 286, 287.

<sup>w</sup> — τρεῖται ὃ ἄλλοι,  
 Ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐψαντες, τὸς ἐπὶ ζωῆς ἢ κατ’ αὐτὸς περ-  
 φέρει νεομισμένους, ἢ καὶ ῥῶμη σώματι, καὶ δυνατείας ἐχού ἢ πλε-

had

had reason to take for granted when there was so venerable an Authority for it as the most ancient History of *Sanchoniathon* the *Phenician*; who gives a very particular account of the Origin of Hero-Worship, and expressly relates that the Deification was immediate; and surely, when Men were become so foolish as to make Gods of their fellow Creatures, the *likeliest*, as well as most excuseable time was, while the Sense of *new invented* Benefits bestowed, such as *Civil Policy* and the *Arts of Life*, was yet fresh and recent in their Memories, and the active Warmth of Gratitude alive and glowing on their Minds. In a word, while they were inflamed with that sacred *Love* and *Admiration* which our great Poet so sublimely describes :

“ ’Twas Virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,  
 “ Diffusing Blessings, or averting Harms)  
 “ The same, which in a Sire the Sons obey’d,  
 “ A Prince, the Father of a People made.  
 “ On him their second Providence they hung,  
 “ Their Law his Eye, their Oracle his Tongue.  
 “ He from the wond’ring Furrow call’d the Food;  
 “ Taught to command the *Fire*, controul the  
     *Flood*,  
 “ Draw forth the Monsters of th’ *Abyss profound*,  
 “ And fetch th’ *aerial Eagle* to the Ground \*.

Now where was the wonder that he who taught Men to subject *all the Elements* to their behoof, should, by a rude admiring Multitude, be believed to be a kind of Deity ?

όνων επικρατήσαντας, γίγαντας τινας, ἢ τυράννους, ἢ καὶ γόητας. καὶ  
 φαρμακίας ἀνδρες, ἐκ τινος ἢ θεοτέρων ἀποπλήσιως, τὰς κακοίχ-  
 νους γοητείας λυσιπικρασμῶν ἢ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κοινὰς τί τινος καὶ  
 βιωφιλῆς διεξιείας προαρεσίων, ζώων τε ἔτι καὶ μὲν τελευτήσω  
 Θείας ἐπιφήμισαν. *Præp. Evang. lib. v. cap. 5.*

\* *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii.

*But they took the Names of their first Ancestors, whose Fame had been growing up by the Increase of Tradition.* — It is certain, the Ancestors Men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *first*, had a very large and spreading Fame. But how was this procured if not thro' early Deification; which by making them the Subjects of perpetual Hymns and Panegyrics preserved them from Oblivion in those unletter'd Ages: And in fact, all, of all Nations, but those so deified, were very soon extinct and forgotten.

— *And all whose Imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any.* — By this one would be apt to think that the Hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whose Deification the learned Writer would bring thus low, had nothing *unseemly* told of them in their Legends; which, was it true, the Argument would have some weight. But strange! he well knows the contrary; and every one will own that the free Enormities told of these Gods is a certain Argument of their Deification, by that very Age which saw both their Virtues and their Vices; and, with the Fondness of times newly obliged, indiscreetly canonized both of them together; which in the safe Conveyance of Religion, were equally delivered down to Posterity. Not that I can suppose, for I have just shewn the contrary, that late Poets and Mythologists did not add to the Tales of their Forefathers. I cannot, for instance, suppose *Jupiter* to be really guilty of *all* the Adulteries told of him in *Ovid*: But this sure I may say, that unless he had been a famed Adulterer in earliest Tradition, his Worshipers would never have dared to invent such odious Fables of the *Sire of Gods and Men*.

— *But it is hard to be conceived that they should have divine Honours immediately paid them, because their*

*their Cotemporaries might have as fair a Pretence, and come in Competition with them.* I understood that *none* were deified but such whose Benefits to their fellow Citizens, or to Mankind at large, were *very eminent*; and that *all* with these Pretences were deified; therefore I scarce know what to make of this Observation.

— But Alexander's and Cæsar's Apotheosises were scorned and laughed at<sup>1</sup>. And so they deserved: For if they, or their Flatterers for them, would needs affect Deification in a learned and enlightened Age and Place, no other could be expected from so ridiculous an Attempt. But then those who knew better how to lay a religious Project found no Impediment from their nearness to its Execution. We see this in Odin<sup>2</sup>, who about this very Cæsar's time, aspiring to immediate Worship amongst a rude and barbarous People, the only Scene for playing this Farce with Applause, proved as successful in his Attempt as either Osiris, Jupiter, or Belus.

— Nor could Numa Pompilius make Romulus's Translation to Heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent Historians to report him killed by his Subjects. Here the learned Writer, conscious that Antiquity opposed many incontestable Examples to his Hypothesis of the late Deification of their early Heroes, has thought fit to produce one

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch uses this very Argument against Eubemerus to prove that their country Gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ἸΣ. 302, pag. 641.

<sup>2</sup> Odinus supremus est & antiquissimus Asarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiam si cæteri Dii potentes sint, omnes tamen ipsi inserviunt ut patri, liberi. — Cum Pompeius Dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infestaret, Odinus ex Asia huc in Septentrionem fugiebat. Edda Snorronis apud Thom. Bartholin de Antiq. Danic. pag. 648 & 652.

<sup>a</sup> which he supposed he could deal with. And how does he acquit himself? Why *Romulus's Translation was never so firmly believed but that subsequent Historians, &c.* — As if at all times speculative Men did not see the Origin of their best established Hero-Gods. — As if we could forget what the learned Writer himself tells us, in this very place, of *Eubemerus Messenius*; who wrote a Book to prove the ancient Gods of the Heathen World to have been only their ancient Kings and Commanders <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> To this I shall add one or two more: For tho' Antiquity bears full *Testimony* to the Fact, yet lest it should be replied, that the *Greeks* talk of things done long before their time; and, tho' the imaginary Deification lagged far behind the real Existence, yet, for the Credit of the God, the Tradition would be that he was made so, very early; lest this, I say, should be pretended, I will give another Instance or two of the *Fact itself*. God speaking by the Prophet to the King of Tyre, says: *Thine Heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the Seat of God in the midst of the Seas; yet thou art a Man and not God. — Wilt thou yet say, before him that slayeth thee, I am a God: But thou shalt be a Man and no God, in the Hand of him that slayeth thee*, *Ezek.* xxviii. 2, — 9. This I take to denote a real Worship paid to the King of Tyre, by his idolatrous Subjects in his Life time; and it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the *Greek Neptunes*. The Rabbins seem to have understood the Text in this Sense, when they made him to have lived a thousand Years, as *Jerom* observes. We have already taken notice of *Odin* and his early *Apotheosis*. But *Tacitus* informs us, it was a general Custom amongst the Northern Barbarians to deify without loss of time; and this, not in Jest, like their cotemporary *Romans*, but in good sober Sadness: Where speaking of the *German Nations* he says: *Ea virgo [Velleda] nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat: VETERE apud Germanos MORE, quo plerasque seminarum satidicas, & augeſcente ſuperſtitione, arbitrentur DEAS*, *lib. iv. Hiſt.* And again of the ſame Heroine: *Vidimus ſub DIVO Veſpaſiano Velledam, diu apud pleroſque NUMINIS LOCO habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complureis alias venerati ſunt, NON ADULATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS*. In theſe laſt Words the Hiſtorian hints at the mock Deifications in *Rome*, and inſinuates that theſe were of another Nature, and really believed.

<sup>b</sup> P. 288. See the firſt Vol. of the *Div. Leg.* p. 94, &c.

*The Fame of deceased Persons* (says he) *must have Ages to grow up to Heaven.* — *Must!* that is, in spite of a barbarous Multitude, who would make Gods of them out of hand. — *Must!* in spite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly they had their wicked Wills.

— *And divine Honours cannot be given with any shew of Decency but to a late Posterity.* It must be owned the Ancients observed much *Decency* when they adopted into the Number of their greater Gods, Ravishers, Adulterers, Pathics; Vagabonds, Thieves and Murderers.

But now the learned Writer having brought Hero-Worship thus low, brings along with it this Burthen upon himself, of inventing some probable Cause of the *Apotheosis*. For that which ancient History assigns, and is so very satisfactory, namely the warm Gratitude of Fellow-Citizens for Godlike Benefits received, is now quite *out of Date*. This sure is a matter of Difficulty: For when Gratitude is thus suffered to cool for Ages, there will want some very strong Machine to draw them up to Heaven. Accordingly our Author has provided them with *Stars* for their *Voiture*: “Some Ages after (says he) they descended to worship Heroes or dead Men. — “The most celebrated Deities they had of this sort “were *Cronus, Rhea, Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis,* “and *Nephtis*; and these Persons were said to be “deified upon an Opinion that, at their Deaths, “their Souls migrated into some Star, and became “the animating Spirit of some luminous and heavenly Body: This the *Egyptian* Priests expressly “asserted. — Let us now see when the *Egyptians* “first consecrated these Hero-Gods, or deified Mortals. To this I answer, *not before they took Notice of the Appearances of the particular Stars which they appropriated to them.* *Julius Cæsar*

“ was not canonized until the Appearance of the  
 “ *Julium Sidus*, nor could the *Phenicians* have any  
 “ Notion of the Divinity of *Cronus* until they  
 “ made some Observations of the Star, which they  
 “ imagined he was removed into<sup>c</sup>.”

He says the Egyptian Priests EXPRESLY ASSERTED that these Persons were said to be deified UPON AN OPINION that at their Deaths their Souls migrated into some Star. And for this he quotes a Passage in *Plutarch's* Tract of *Isis* and *Osiris*; which I shall give the Reader in *Plutarch's* own Words, that he may judge for himself, whether the Egyptian Priests said any such thing. *Plutarch* speaking of the Tombs of the Gods says:— But the Priests affirm not only of these, but of all the other Gods, of that Tribe which were not unbegotten and immortal, that their dead Bodies are deposited amongst them and preserved with great Care, but that their Souls illuminate the Stars in Heaven<sup>d</sup>. All that is here asserted is that the Egyptians thought the Souls of their Hero-Gods had migrated into some Star; but not the least Intimation that they were deified upon this Opinion of their Migration. These are two very different things. The Opinion of their Migration might, for any thing said here, be an after Superstition; and we shall now see it probably was so: For the learned Writer not resting on this Authority, as we find he had small Reason, casts about for some plausible occasion, how Men come to be deified upon so strange an Opinion; and this he makes to be— their FIRST Notice of the Appearance of a particular Star. Now that the new Ap-

<sup>c</sup> *Connect.* vol. ii. p. 281, 282, 283.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐ μόνον ὅ τῶν ἱερῶν λέγεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀβήντοι μηδὲ ἀφθάρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεισθ' καμάνε καὶ θειοποιέσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν ἐξηνῶ λάμπειν ἄστροι.  
 pag. 640.

pearance



pearance of a Star should make Men suppose the Soul of a dead Ancestor was got into it, and so become a God, is as hard to conceive as how *Tenterden Steeple* is the Cause of *Goodwin Sands*. Indeed it was natural enough to imagine such an *Ἰμφοάμεια*, when the Cultivation of *Judicial Astrology* had aided a growing Superstition to believe that their tutelary Gods would chuse to take the convenient Residence of a culminating Star in order to shed their benignant Influence on their own Race or People. This seems to be the Truth of the Case; and This, I believe, was all the *Egyptian Priests* in *Plutarch* meant to say.

But from a *sufficient Cause*, this *new Appearance* is become, before the Conclusion of the Paragraph, the *only Cause* of Deification: *Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the Appearance of the Julium Sidus, nor could the Phenicians have any Notion of the Divinity of Chronus until they made some Observations of the Star which they imagined he was removed into.* As to *Cæsar's Apotheosis* it was a vile Imitation of those vile ones of *Alexander's Successors* in *Greece and Egypt*; and the *Julium Sidus* an Accident of no more Consequence than only saving his Flatterers a little Blushing. But abandoned Courtiers, and prostitute Senates never wait for the Declaration of Heaven: And when those of *Rome* sent from thence a second Tribe of *Monsters* to replenish the Constellations, we find *Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, &c.* who rose into Gods as they subdued their Humanity, had no more Stars in their Favour than poor *Teague* in the *Committee*. But of all Cases, the *Phenicians* seem the hardest; who with their infinite Superstitions could yet have no Notion of *Chronus's* Divinity, 'till they had read his Fortune in his Star. I am so utterly at a loss to know what this means, that I can only say, if the Reader

cannot see how they might come by this *Notion* another way, then has he read, or I wrote, a great deal to very little Purpose.

VI. We come now to the last Cause assigned by the Ancients for Brute-Worship, as we find it in EUSEBIUS<sup>e</sup>; namely, that it was the Invention of a certain King for his private Ends of Policy; who established in each City the exclusive Worship of a different Animal, in order to prevent their combining and plotting against his Government. — That an *Egyptian* King did in fact contrive such a political Institution may be very well believed; but that it was the *Original* of Brute-Worship cannot be so easily allowed. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn what they find *in use*, to their own Advantage. The Policy therefore of this *Egyptian* King was the founding a new Institution of Intolerance upon an already established Practice of different Animal-Worship in each City. But supposing this King of so peculiar a strain of Policy that he would needs invent a new Religion, how happened it that he did not employ *Hero-Worship* to this Purpose, so natural a Superstition that it became universal, rather than the whimsical and monstrous Practice of Brute-Worship not Symbolical; when different Hero-Worship would have served his Purpose so much better? Religious Zeal for the exclusive Honour of a dead Citizen being likely to rise much higher than that to any Country Animal. The only Solution of this Difficulty is, that Brute-Worship being then the favourite Superstition of the People, he chose that for the Foundation of his Institution. This pretended Cause therefore we must needs conclude to be as defective as the rest.

<sup>e</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 284. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit.

These

These were the Reasons the *Greek* Writers gave for Brute-Worship in general. But besides these, they invented a thousand fanciful Causes of the Worship of this or that Animal in particular, which it would be to no Purpose to recount.

But of all the Liberties taken with remote Antiquity, sure nothing ever equalled that of a late *French* Writer, whose Book, intituled, HISTOIRE DU CIEL, accidentally fell into my Hands as this Sheet was going to the Press. *Kircher*, extravagant as he was, had yet some ground for his Réveries. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily for him, indeed, it proved the spurious Part he followed; so he was strangely misled; however he had Antiquity enough to secure his Credit as a serious Writer. But here is one who regards Antiquity no more than if he thought it *all* spurious, like his Countryman *Hardouin*. The Truth is, these volatile Writers are, in *Letters*, what *Tacitus's* *Romans* were in civil Policy, who could neither bear a perfect Freedom, nor a thorough Slavery; they will not be content with either pure Fact or mere Fable<sup>f</sup>. The Author of the *Histoire du Ciel* with great Reason

<sup>f</sup> This shews the Reason why our *Locke* is no favourite of this Author's. This is his manner of treating that incomparable Philosopher: — Il est fort inutile de discuter metaphysiquement avec *Monf. Locke* ce que c'est que notre entendement & de quelles pieces il est composé. Vol. ii. p. 401. *Par.* 1739. And again, J'ai lu les categories d'*Aristote*, la Logique de *Barbay*, & le tres-ennuyeux traité de *Locke* sur l'entendement humain. Toutes ces lectures sont peut-être un peu plus propres à former un bon raisonneur qu'un bon charpentier. Mais si le raisonnement y gagne, c'est parce que ces lectures sont un exercice d'esprit, & non pas parce qu'elles nous apprennent la nature de l'esprit, ou les règles de ses operations. Ainsi un traité de charpenterie bien raisonné exerceroit tout aussi utilement l'esprit que les regles de la dialectique, & ennuiroit un peu moins que le traité de *Locke*, p. 427, 428. But as much as the Tedioufness of *English* Writers offends the Delicacy of *Mr. Pluche*, he can, for the Sake of *Letters*, not only submit to the Fatigue of reading, but of transcribing them; as appears from the long Account of the compares

compares <sup>s</sup> his Archievement in Antiquity with some Feats of his Countrymen in Civil History. One might carry on the Comparifon; for the *Hiftoire du Ciel* is as like as poffible to thofe fort of Civil Histories they call *Memoirs*, a vaft number of which are daily publifhed; where, under a little plain Truth, the Story is embroidered all over with the clinquant of Fable and Invention: Thefe they call relations of Fact. On the other hand, when they write profefled Novels and Romances, they have then as prepofterous an Appetite for Truth, as before for Falffhood. And as they have their *Philofophical Memoirs*, fuch as the *Hiftoire du Ciel*, fo they have their *Philofophical Romances* likewife, fuch as the *Life of Sethos*; in each of which, as we obferved, a different Spirit prevailing, it is remarkable that in the profefled Fable of *Sethos* we find a much jufter Idea of old *Egyptian* Wifdom than in all the pretended *Hiftoire du Ciel*. But the Injury thus done to Truth in Works of Literature is much greater than in Civil Matters. In thefe latter Works the Hiftorian, for the moft part, fairly tells all he knows, and then ekes out his fcanty Intelligence with a bountiful Invention. But in Difcourfes on Antiquity no Facts can be invented with Decency, but by feeming to derive them from thofe already found there. Writers therefore muft firft of all pervert fuch of thefe as can be made compliant, and remove the reft, before they can make way for that kind of *Novel* which Philofophers call a *System*. An amazing Instance of this we have in the Writer before us. His *System* is, that all the Civil and Religious Customs of Anti-

MYSTERIES in his fecond Edition of the *Hiftoire du Ciel*, Printed in 1741; which Account he has taken from the firft Vol. of the *Divine Legation*, and done it the Honour to adopt for his own.      <sup>s</sup> See the Preface, int. *Plan de cet Ouvrage*.

quity

quity sprung up from *Agriculture*; nay that the very Gods and Goddeſſes themſelves were Part of this all bounteous Harveſt<sup>h</sup>:

*Nec ulla interea eſt inarata gratia terræ.*

Now if there be but two Facts in Antiquity, which Sceptiſm itſelf, in its more ſober Hours, would not doubt of, they are theſe, that the idolatrous Worſhip of the heavenly Bodies aroſe from the viſible Influence they have on ſublunary things; and that the *Country Gods* of all the Pagan Nations were dead Men deified, whoſe Benefits to their Fellow-Citizens, or to Mankind at large, had procured them Divine Honours. Could the Reader think either of theſe things likely to be denied by one who ever looked into Antiquity, much leſs by one who pretended to interpret it? But neither *Gods nor Men* can ſtand before a *System*. This profound Author aſſures us 'tis all a Deluſion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the heavenly Bodies were not worſhipped for their Influences; that *Oſiris, Iſis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury*, nay their very Hero-Gods, ſuch as *Hercules* and *Minos*, were not mortal Men nor Women; nor indeed any thing but the Letters of an ancient Alphabet, the mere Figures which compoſed the Symbolic Directions to the *Egyptian* Huſbandmen. It would be impertinent to aſk this Writer, where was his Regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we ſee him have ſo little for the Public, as to be wanting even in that mere Reſpect due to every Reader of common Senſe? And yet this *System*, begot by a delirious Imagination on the Dream of a lethargic Pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity*<sup>i</sup>. How-

<sup>h</sup> See p. 99, 315, & *paſſim*, vol. i. Ed. Par. 1739, 8<sup>vo</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> — S'il y a même quelque choſe de ſolide & de ſuivi dans l'hiſtoire que je vais donner de l'origine du Ciel Poétique, j'avoue  
ever,

ever, as it is a Work of Entertainment, where *Agriculture* has the top Part in the Piece, and Antiquity brought in only to decorate the Scene, it should be made, methinks, as perfect as it could. Would it not therefore be a considerable Improvement, if, instead of saying the *Egyptian* Husbandmen found their Gods in the Symbolic Directions for their Labour, the ingenious Author would suppose that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their Furrows? This would give his Piece the *marvellous*, so necessary in Works of this Nature, corrected too by the *probable*, *i. e.* some kind Support from Antiquity, which it now wants; for thus the *Etruscans* found their God *Tages*<sup>k</sup>; and the moist Glebe of *Egypt*, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was, of old, famed for hatching Men and Monsters.

To be serious, the secret Drift of all this Extravagance is evident enough. The Protestants have long charged the SAINT-WORSHIP of the *Papists* with the same kind of Idolatry that the *Pagans* were guilty of in their HERO-WORSHIP. This, without doubt, our Author thought to enervate, by pretending there was properly no such thing as *Hero-Worship* amongst the Pagans; but that the Idolatry so called, consisted in the Worship of Deities of their own Creation.

To return. From what hath been last said, we conclude, That the true Original of *Brute-Worship* was the use of *Symbolic Writing*; and if so, that *Symbols* were extreme ancient; for *Brute-Worship*

que j'en suis redevable à l'explication ingénieuse, mais simple, par laquelle l'auteur des Saturnelles [*Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 17.*] *Hist. du Ciel*, vol. i. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *Tages* quidam dicitur in agro Tarquinienfi, cum terra araretur & sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, & eum adfatus esse qui arabat, &c. *Cic. de Div. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.*

was

was national in the Days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the Repository of *Egyptian* Wisdom Divine and Civil; therefore the *Egyptians* a very learned People from the most early times: The thing to be proved. And now, had this long Discourse on the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphics only afforded me this auxiliary Proof, which my Argument does not at all want, I should doubtless have made it much shorter. But, besides this, it may greatly assist us in attaining a right Idea of the Force and Genius of *Eastern Elocution*, a thing so thoroughly influenced by this kind of Writing; and is therefore, I presume, no improper Introduction to an Enquiry into the *Jewish* Policy and Religion, the Subject of the present Volume. The excellent Mr. *Mede* penetrated into this use; and the learned *Daubuz* endeavoured to prosecute his Hint at large, but falling into the Visions of *Kircher*, he defeated much of the Service this Application of Hieroglyphic Learning was capable of affording.

A further use of this long Dissertation is the giving us Entrance into the true *Egyptian* Learning, which, by reason of the general Mistakes concerning the Origin, Use, and distinct Species of Hieroglyphic Writing has been hitherto stopped up. The Subject now lies open to any diligent Enquirer; and to such an one, whose greater Advantages of Situation, Learning, and Abilities may make him more deserving of the public Regard, I leave it to be pursued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards the Recovery of the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom, yet, what is of infinitely greater moment, it will very much assist us in understanding the *Grecian*; and after so many Instances given of the Truth of this Observation, one might almost venture to recommend the Subject of the MYSTERIES in the former Volume,

Volume, and of the **HIEROGLYPHICS** in this (the two grand Vehicles of *Egyptian* Learning and Religion) as the cardinal Points on which the Interpretation of *Greek* Antiquity should from henceforth turn.

## S E C T. V.

**T**HE Course of my Argument now brings me to examine a *New Hypothesis* against the high Antiquity of *Egypt*, which hath the incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton* for its Author: A Man, whom Science and Virtue seemed to be at strife about which should render him most illustrious, while they equally concurred to make him the Ornament of human kind. The prodigious Discoveries he had made in the *Natural* World, and especially that Superiority of Genius which opened the way to those Discoveries, has induced some of his Countrymen to believe him as intimate in the Intrigues of the *Moral*; and even to regard him in the light a late ingenious Commentator on his Optics has thought fit to put him; who seems to think that as all *Midas* touched turned to Gold, so all Sir *Isaac* handled turned to Demonstration.

But the most sublime Understanding has its Bounds, and, what is much more to be lamented, the strongest Mind has its Foible. And this Miracle of Science, who so opened the present Course of Nature to human View, as if he had been immediately enlightened by the Almighty Author of it, when he came to correct Old Time in the Chronology of *Egypt*, suffered himself to be drawn away from the *Goshen* of *Moses* into the thickest of the *Egyptian* Darkness, by little lying *Greek* Mythologists and Story-tellers: So pestilent a Mischief in the Road to Truth is a favourite Hypothesis: An Evil,



Evil, which retarding our Progress at almost every Step, we have had too frequent occasion to lament in the Course of this Enquiry. For it is to be observed that Sir *Isaac's Egyptian* Chronology was fashioned only to support his *Grecian*; which he erected on one of those sublime Conceptions peculiar to his amazing Genius.

But it is not for the sake of any private Notions that I take upon me to consider the Arguments of this illustrious Writer. The Truth is, his Discourse of *the Empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing Holy Scripture delivers concerning that ancient People. Though some therefore of his Admirers seem to think there may be no more harm to Religion in his contradicting the *History* than the *Astronomy* of the Bible, yet I am of another Mind; and suspect that our espousing this Hypothesis may be attended with very ill Consequences in our Disputes with Infidelity. For though indeed the present turn of Free-thinking be to extol the high Antiquity of *Egypt*, as conceiving great Advantages from it to their Cause, and consequently to urge Scripture, which bears full witness to that Antiquity, as a faithful Relator of ancient Facts, yet as their Advantages from hence will, I hope, soon be proved chimerical, who knows (Free-thinking being by its very Nature given to change) how soon the contrary Notion of the low Antiquity of *Egypt* may become the favourite Topic, and then we shall be sure to have the great Name of *Newton* set against the Bible; the last of all great Names one would wish in opposition to it. Nor can their Inconstancy in this Instance be charged with Contradiction, a Felicity that rarely happens to them. For it cannot be said they now deny the Bible any superior Authority they before had given it; because the owning the Truth of its historical relations does not  
imply

imply its Inspiration, though the proving the Falseness of those relations quite destroys all Pretences to it.

One would reasonably hope then, that this should dispose the Friends of Revelation to stick to their Bible, and not to be so willing to deny, or anxious to explain away, any clear Fact contained in it, because Infidelity is so foolish as to think it may be made to serve its Purpose. Systems, Schemes, and Hypotheses, all bred of Heat in the warm Region of Controversy, will, like Meteors in a troubled Sky, each have its turn to blaze and pass away : But the Bible is eternal like the Sun, the never failing Fountain of Light and Life.

It is therefore, as I say, for the sake of Scripture, and for no Fondness to any private Opinion, that I take upon me to examine the System of this excellent Person.

His great Argument for the low Antiquity of *Egypt* may be summed up in this Syllogism :

OSIRIS advanced *Egypt* from a State of Barbarity to Civil Policy.

But *Osiris* and SESOSTRIS were the same.

Therefore *Egypt* was advanced from a State of Barbarity to Civil Policy in the time of *Sesostris*.

And to fix the Time of *Sesostris* with Precision, he endeavours to prove him the same with *Sesac*. But this last Identity not at all affecting the present Question is not our Business to consider.

Now the *minor* in this Syllogism being the questionable Term, he has employed his whole Discourse in its Support. We have nothing to do then but to overthrow that Support, and shew that *Osiris* and *Sesostris* were not one, but two Persons, living in very distant Ages. And that none of the  
Followers

Followers of this System may have Reason to suspect, or Pretence to say, that the Author's Arguments are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I shall transcribe them just as I find them collected, methodized, and presented under one View by his learned and ingenious Apologist: — “ He [Sir *Isaac Newton*] “ has found it more easy to lower the “ Pretensions of the Ancients than to conquer the “ Prejudices of the Moderns. Many of his Opinions, that are in truth well founded, pass for “ Dreams, and in particular his Arguments for settling the Time of *Sesostris*, which the *Greeks* never knew, have been answered with Scurrility. — “ I shall lay together here the Evidences that have “ convinced me of the Truth of his Conclusion, “ because he has not any where collected all of “ them.

“ 1. That *Osiris* and *Bacchus* were the same, “ was generally agreed by the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, “ and is therefore out of question; and that the “ great Actions related of *Sesostris* are true of *Sesac*, “ and the Difference between them is only nominal, is affirmed by *Josephus*.

“ 2. *Osiris* and *Sesostris* were both *Egyptian* “ Kings who conquered *Ethiopia*; and yet there “ never was but one *Egyptian* King that was Master “ of *Ethiopia*.

“ 3. Both were *Egyptian* Kings that with a prodigious Army and Fleet invaded and subdued all “ *Asia* northward as far as *Tanais*, and eastward as “ far as the *Indian Ocean*.

“ 4. Both set up Pillars in all their Conquests, “ signifying what sort of Resistance the Inhabitants “ had made: *Palestine*, in particular, appears to have “ made little or none to them.

“ 5. Both past over the *Hellespont* into *Europe*, “ met with strong Opposition in *Thrace*, and were

“ there in great Hazard of losing their Army.

“ 6. Both had with them in their Expeditions a great number of foster Brothers, who had been all born on the same Day, and bred up with them.

“ 7. Both built or exceedingly embellished *Thebes* in Upper *Egypt*.

“ 8. Both changed the Face of all *Egypt*, and from an open Country made it impracticable for Cavalry, by cutting navigable Canals from the *Nile* to all the Cities.

“ 9. Both were in the utmost Danger by the Conspiracy of a Brother.

“ 10. Both made triumphant Entries in Chariots, of which *Osiris*'s is poetically represented to be drawn by Tigers, *Sesoftris*'s historically said to be drawn by captive Kings.

“ 11. Both reigned about twenty eight or thirty Years.

“ 12. Both had but one Successor of their own Blood.

“ 13. *Bacchus* or *Osiris* was two Generations before the *Trojan War*: *Sesoftris* was two Reigns before it. Again, *Sesac*'s Invasion in *Judea* in *An. P. J.* 3743, was about two hundred sixty Years before the Invasion of *Egypt* in his Successor *Setbon*'s Time by *Sennacherib*; and from *Sesoftris* to *Setbon* inclusively there are ten Reigns, according to *Herodotus*, which, if twenty six Years be allowed to a Reign, make likewise two hundred and sixty Years.

“ In so distant Ages and Countries it is not possible that any King, with many Names, can be more clearly demonstrated to be one and the same Person than all these Circumstances and Actions together do prove that *Osiris* and *Bacchus*, *Sesoftris* and *Sesac* are but so many Appellations  
“ of

“ of the same Man: Which being established, it  
 “ will evidently follow, that the *Argonautic Expe-*  
 “ dition, the Destruction of *Troy*, the Revolution  
 “ in *Peloponnesus* made by the *Heraclidæ*, &c. were  
 “ in or very near the Times in which Sir *Isaac* has  
 “ ranged them<sup>1</sup>.”

I. Before I proceed to an Examination of his *Proofs*, it will be proper to premise something concerning the Nature of his *System*, and the Quality of his *Evidence*.

1. We are to observe then, that this System is so far from being a Support, Defence, or Illustration of the ancient History of these two Heroes, that it contradicts and subverts all that is clear and certain in that History; and adds new Confusion to all that is obscure. The Annals of *Egypt*, as may be seen by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch* and others, who all copied from them, were as express and unvariable for the real *Diversity* of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, as the History of *England* is for that of any two of our own Country Monarchs. For they were not vague Names, of *uncertain* or *adjoining* Times; but *one* the most illustrious of their *Demi-Gods*, and the other of their *Kings*; each fix'd in precise Periods; and those vastly distant from one another. So that I make no Question, but it had been as great a Paradox, to an old *Egyptian*, to have been told that *Osiris* and *Sesostris* were but one, as it would be now to us should any Man pretend that our *Bonduca* and the Empress *Matilda* were the same. The whole ancient World acquiesced in the Belief of their *Diversity*; nor did it ever enter the Head of the most paradoxical Writer, (with which later *Greece* abounded) ever once to contradict so well established a Fact. And

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mann's Ded. to his Tract of the true Years of the Birth and Death of CHRIST.

where was the Wonder? The History of *Egypt* was, not, like that of ancient *Greece* or *Suevia*, to be found only in the traditional Tales of *Bards* and *Mythologists*; nor yet, like that of early *Britain*, the *Invention* of sedentary *Monks*; but consisted of the annual and authentic Records of an active and learned *Priesthood*. In which, the only Transgression against Truth, that has been yet discovered, is that natural Partiality, common to all national Historiographers, of extending back their Annals to an unreasonable Length of Time. Let me add, that this Fact of their *Diversity* is so far from contradicting any other ancient History that it entirely agrees and coincides with all of them. Nay, what is the surest Mark of Historic Truth, there is, as perhaps we may take Occasion to shew, very strong collateral Evidence to evince the real *Diversity* of these two ancient Monarchs.

2. So far as to the *Nature of the System*. The *Quality of the Evidence* is another legitimate Prejudice against this new Chronology. It is chiefly the *fabulous History* of *Greece*, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologists. This has afforded the most plausible Support to Sir *Isaac's* Hypothesis; by supplying him, in its Genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a great Number of Chronological Marks to ascertain the *Identity* he contends for. And yet who has not heard of that infinite Disorder, confounding all Succession of Time, in which the *Greek* Mythology lies involved? Of all its Prodigies of Falschhood, nothing being so monstrous as its dismembered and ill-joined Parts of Time. Notwithstanding all this, his Proofs from their *Mythology*, consisting of Scraps, picked up, promiscuously, from Fabulists, Poets, Scholiasts, &c. are argued from with so a little Hesitation, that a Stranger would be apt to think the *fabulous Ages* were  
as

as well distinguished as those marked by the *Olympiads*. But the slender Force of this Evidence is still further weakened, by this material Circumstance, that all the Passages brought from *Mythology* to evince this Identity, are contradicted (though the excellent Person has not thought fit to take Notice of it) by a vast Number of other Passages in the same *Mythology*, nay even in the same Authors: And lastly are entirely overthrown by Writers of greater Credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt. Which yet are the other Part of Sir Isaac's Evidence: of Weight indeed to be *heard out*. But this he will not do. But, from their having given to *Osiris* and *Sesostris* almost the same Actions, concludes they were the same, against all that they themselves can say to the contrary. Yet what they *might* mistake in, and what they *could* not, was methinks very easily distinguishable. For as *Fable* naturally joins together later and former Times; and *ancient Fable* increased that Confusion for Reasons to be hereafter given: So *History* must needs abound with similar Characters of Men in public Stations; and *ancient History* falsely improved that Likeness through Mistakes hereafter likewise to be accounted for. In a Word, were there nothing more remaining of Antiquity concerning *Bacchus*, *Osiris*, and *Sesostris* than what we find in Sir Isaac's Book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them one, and the same; but as Things stand at present, there is an insuperable Barrier to their ever meeting.

The Inference therefore I would draw, from these prefatory Observations, is this, ——— We have, in the *Diversity* of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, a Circumstance of History delivered in the fullest and most unvariable Manner, by Annalists of the best Authority. All succeeding Ages agreed in the Fact: and very strong collateral Evidence supports it. At

length a modern Writer of great Name thinks fit to bring it into Question. And how? Not by accounting for the Rise and Progress of what he must needs esteem the most inveterate Error that ever was. But by laying together a Number of Circumstances, from ancient *History*, to prove the Actions of *Osiris* and *Sesostris* to be *greatly alike*; and a Number of Circumstances, from Ancient *Fable*, to prove the Gods, whom he supposes to be *Osiris*, were *about the Age* of *Sesostris*. So that all this illustrious Writer's Evidence amounting, in the most, but to Difficulties against acquiescing in the best established Fact of History, if we can fairly account, (consistently with the *Diversity* and *different Age* of these two Heroes) for this *Sameness of their Actions*, as recorded by the *Historians*; and for this *low Date* of the *Grecian* Gods, supposed to be the *Egyptian Osiris*, as delivered by the *Mythologists*; If, I say, we can do this, the Reader is desired to observe that we have done every thing that is necessary for the entire Overthrow of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Hypothesis; and for the reinstating the ancient History of this *Diversity* in its former Credit.

But we shall do more; we shall shew, from the religious Constitutions of *Greece* and *Egypt*, that the *circumstantial* Errors Antiquity fell into concerning these two Heroes, (of which Errors our Author has taken the Advantage, in order to run them into one) were such as hardly any Circumspection could avoid.

And still further; we shall give a *Corollary* to shew, that this *Identity* of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, in its necessary Consequences I. CONTRADICTS all SCRIPTURE, and 2. even the NATURE OF THINGS,

II. We come now to a particular Examination of this famous Proof of the *Identity*, as it is collected and



and digested by the learned and worthy Writer above mentioned.

The first Observation I shall make upon it is this, that, by the same Way of Arguing, one might incorporate almost any two *Heroes*, one meets with, in early and remote History. For as our great Poet, who loves Truth as much as the *Grecian* Poets (on whom Sir *Isaac* so confidently builds) loved Fiction, very well observes,

- “ *HEROES are much the SAME*, the Point’s agreed,  
 “ From *Macedonia’s* Madman to the *Swede*;  
 “ The whole strange Purpose of their Lives, to find,  
 “ Or make, an Enemy of all Mankind.

To shew the Reader how easily this may be done, I will take any two of our own Monarchs that come first into my Thoughts, — KING ARTHUR, for Instance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when Arts and Empire have learnt to travel further *West*, and left *Britain* in the present Condition of *Egypt*, some future Chronologer, of a distant Country, labouring to prove these Heroes one and the same, only under two different Names, by such kind of Arguments as these,

1. *Arthur* and *William* were both great Warriors.
2. Both were of spurious or uncertain Birth.
3. Both were in the Management of public Affairs in their early Youth.
4. Both came from *France* to recover *Britain* from the *Saxons*.
5. Both proved victorious in their Expedition.
6. Both got the Crown of *Britain* by Election and not by Descent.
7. Both had another Kingdom, besides *Britain*, to which they succeeded by right Hereditary.

P 4

8. Both

8. Both went frequently on military Expeditions into *France*.

9. Both warred there with various Success.

10. Both had half Brothers, by the Mother, who being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold Extortions and Acts of Injustice, were exemplarily punished by them.

11. Both had rebellious Sons or Nephews, whom they met in the Field, fought with in Person, and subdued.

12. Both reigned upwards of fifty Years.

13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus successful with his Argument from *similar Circumstances*, it is odds but that, to settle a Chronology which made for his Hypothesis, he would go on; and prove now, from *similitude of Names*, as before, from *similitude of Actions*, that *William the Conqueror* and *William the third*, another Conqueror, were but one and the same.

Here, the Number of similar Circumstances, in the lives of *Arthur* and *William*, are, evidently, more Characteristic of ONE, than those in the History of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*. Yet we know that *Arthur* and *William* were really two Men of two very distant Ages. This will shew the Critics the true Value of this kind of Evidence; and should reasonably dispose them to much Caution in building upon it.

## II.

But it will be said, the *Nature* of the Conformity, between *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, is, in some Circumstances, very different from that between *Arthur* and *William*. I grant it is; and from those very Circumstances, the Error of their *Identity* may be certainly detected. For I go on, and say, that though from this Instance, it be seen, that a greater Agree-

Agreement might well happen in the Lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be found in those of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*, and their *Diversity* be still very certain and real; yet, in the Case in Question, it must be owned that there are several specific Circumstances of Similitude, which could not arise from that general Conformity between the Actions of two Men of the same Quality and Character; but must be judged to have first sprung from some supposed *Identity*. For several of the Actions, given to both, agree only to the Time of *one*: I mean as Antiquity has fixed their Times. Thus, the vast Conquests over *Asia* agree well with the Time of *Sesoftris*, but very ill with the Time of *Osiris*. And, again, the Invention of the common Arts of Life, very well with the the Time of *Osiris*, but very ill with that of *Sesoftris*. However, from this Conformity Sir *Isaac* concludes *Osiris* and *Sesoftris* were the same. And so far we must needs confess, that it seems to have arisen from some kind of Identity or other. For there are *two*; a Sameness of *Person*, and a Sameness of *Name*. This great Writer contends for the first; but as that contradicts and subverts all Antiquity, if their Conformity of Actions can be well accounted for from their *Identity of Name*, and that Identity proved very probable from ancient History, the Reader will conclude the Conformity arose from thence: and, consequently, that all Sir *Isaac's* Arguments for their *Identity of Person* make directly against him. For if the Conformity arose from *Identity of Name*, they were *two* Persons. I shall endeavour to shew all this in as few Words as I am able.

I. It was an old *Egyptian* Custom, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, to call their earlier Heroes after the *Name* of their earlier Gods. This Historian, after having spoken of the *Celestial* Gods, according

cording to the *Egyptians*, adds, *That they held, that, besides these, there were other earthly Gods born mortal; who, through their Wisdom, and common Benefits to Mankind, had acquired Immortality; that some of these had been Kings of Egypt; and that part changed their Names to those of the celestial Gods, and part kept their own*<sup>m</sup>. But this Custom of calling the later Heroes after the Names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to *Egypt*. The *Affyrians*, as we see in Scripture, did the same. And the Practice must needs have been general. For, as we have shewn, the original Use of it was to support nascent Hero-Worship<sup>n</sup>. But there was another Cause of this Practice, more peculiar to early *Egypt*; and that was the Doctrine of *Transmigration*. For it being thought that the same Soul passed successively into many human Bodies; when they saw an eminent Character remarkably resembling that of some ancient Hero, they were inclined to suppose it to be indeed the old Soul that had taken up a new Residence: and therefore very equitably honoured the present Hero with the Name of the past. And this Reason, *Tacitus* tells us, the *Egyptians* gave of the great Number of *Hercules's* — “*Quem [Herculem] Indigenæ [Ægyptii] ortum apud se & antiquissimum perhibent, eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in Cognomentum ejus adscitos*.” Which Custom was so notorious that *Sir Isaac* could not help owning, it was their Way to give one common Name to several Men. Nay even the least corporeal Resemblance was sometimes sufficient to set this

<sup>m</sup> — “*Ἀλλῃς δ' ἐν τούτων ἐπιγένης γενέας φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν Σηλίδος, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐννεγεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν οὗτος καὶ βασιλεὺς γέγονεν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μετ' ἐμμενέουσαν δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ὕστερον, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἐχέειναι προσήγορίαν* — l. i. p. 8. St. Ed.

<sup>n</sup> See the *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 467, 468. ° *Annal.* l. ii. c. 60.

Superstition on Work, and produce the Effect in Question; as we find from the same *Diodorus's* Account of the *Greek Bacchus*. He tells us, that when *Cadmus the Egyptian* was come into *Greece*, and that his Daughter *Semele* had a spurious Son who died in his Infancy, and whose Person resembled the Images of *Osiris*, the Grandfather, after having consulted the Oracle, called him *Bacchus*, one of the Names of *Osiris*; paid divine Honours to the embalmed Carcase; and proclaimed abroad, that *Osiris* had chosen to come once more amongst Men under that Appearance<sup>r</sup>. And it is remarkable that the Advice of the Oracle was *Ἀγτηρεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα*, to observe the Customs of his Fathers.

Two such Causes therefore of the Practice could not fail to make it the most durable Custom of a People not at all given to change. And, in fact, we find it continued even to the Time of *Cleopatra*, who affected to be called the new *Isis*<sup>q</sup>, as her Brother, the new *Bacchus*<sup>r</sup>. At length it seems to have become so universal as to have had no Measure, but the Fancy of every particular. For *Lucian*, apologizing for the excessive Compliments he gave to one *Panthea*, whose Form he compared to the Images of the Goddeffes, justifies himself by Examples; and, amongst the rest, takes Notice of the Practice of *Egypt*, in these Words: *I shall not insist upon the Practice of the Egyptians, who, though they*

ῥ Κάδμων ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ, γινῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλῃ. ταύτῃ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φθαρείσαν, ἔχουσι γενιάδ, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μνηστῆρας διελθόντων βρέφους τὴν ὥψιν οἷον περ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὅσιον γενέσθαι νομίζουσι. ζωγονεῖα δ' ἐκ εὐθιῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, εἴτε τῷ θεῷ μὴ βυλομένῳ, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγχωρήσης. Κάδμων δ' αἰδοῦμενος τὸ γεγονός, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα ἀγῆρεῖν τὰ τῷ πατρί νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαι τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τιδὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὅσιον γινῆσθαι. l. i. p. 14.

<sup>q</sup> *Plut. in Ant.*

<sup>r</sup> *Diod. Sic. l. i.*

be the most religious of all People, yet employ the Names of their Gods even to Satiety and Disgust<sup>s</sup>.

To apply now this Practice to the Case of the Heroes in Question. *Osiris* was the great Law-giver of the *Egyptians*; and Founder of their Monarchy. *Sesostris* vastly extended and enobled their Empire; and was, at the same Time, the Author of many new and beneficial Institutions. If ever therefore a greater Occasion than ordinary presented of putting in Practice this Custom, of honouring later Heroes with the Name of the more early, it was here; where the Resemblance was so remarkably strong. And if what *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us be true, that *Sesostris* was sprung from *Osiris*<sup>t</sup>, there was still a further Reason to give the later Hero the Name of his great Progenitor. However, that it was given him is highly reasonable to suppose. And this Supposition will clearly account for all that Likeness from which *Sir Isaac* has inferred their *Identity*.

For when now they had given them the same Name, not distinguished by the *first* and *second*, as were their *Thoths* or *Hermeses*<sup>u</sup> (another famous Instance of this general Custom) Posterity frequently confounded them with one another; and, in this Confusion, inadvertently gave the Actions of *Osiris* to *Sesostris*, and of *Sesostris* to *Osiris*. But taking nothing from either, both their Histories soon became the same. And, in this mutual transferring of one another's Actions, several being given

<sup>s</sup> Ἐὰν γὰρ τὰς Ἀιγυπτίους, οἵπερ καὶ δεισιδαιμονεστατοὶ εἰσι πάντων, ὅμως τοῖς θεοῖς ὀνόμασιν, εἰς κόρον ἐπιχωμένους, *Pro Imag. in fin.*

<sup>t</sup> — Τὸν ἑν' Ὀσίριον, τὸν περπαῶσα τὴν αὐτῇ δαυδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σίσωφει] πολυτελῶς. *Admon. ad Gentes* p. 31.

<sup>u</sup> The Histories of the first and second *Hermes*, are as much confounded together as those of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, and from the same Cause; yet I imagine the Distinction of *first* and *second* will prevent any one's supposing them to be the same.

to both entirely discordant to either's Age, we are enabled to discover the true Cause of this Conformity; and further to prove that that which is evidently seen *might be, really was*, the Cause.

Thus *Osiris*, because *Sesostris* was so, is made a great Conqueror, at a Time when *Egypt* was but just emerging from a State of Barbarity into civil Policy; and long before several of those Nations he was said to conquer were in being. But this seems to be one of the latest Corruptions in their History, *Herodotus* giving none of these Conquests to *Osiris*, but to *Sesostris* only; whence I collect it was the Product of some Age between him and *Diodorus Siculus*, who gives it to *Osiris* with all its Circumstances, and supported by the Evidence of pretended ancient Monuments<sup>w</sup>. It appears too to have been a *Grecian* Addition, and at a Time when it was the Fashion to make their Fables *systematical*<sup>x</sup>. For we are told<sup>y</sup>, and, apparently, for no other End than to connect this God with the rest of the College, that when *Osiris* made this Expedition he took *Silenus* with him as his Governor; that he appointed *Isis* Queen-Regent in his Absence, and *Hermes* her Privy-counsellor. *Hercules* he made General of his

<sup>w</sup> The Columns at *Nysa* in *Arabia*.

<sup>x</sup> 'Οι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐνφυΐα πάντες ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἐξιδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς προκοιμήμασι περικίλως ἐξελεγχώσαν, ταῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, δέλγυν ἐπινοῶντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλαν. *Philo Bib. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 10.*

<sup>y</sup> — Τὸν δ' ἐν Ὀσίρειν φασὶ τὰ κτ' τὴν Ἀιγυπτὸν κατασῆσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἰσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαλεσῆσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ερμῆν, — καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν δασιλιπὲν ἀπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα — ἐπιμελητὰς δ' ἑτάζει τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκην κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βούσιον. — εἶναι γὰρ τὴν Ὀσίρειν Φιλογλυφία, καὶ χαίρουσα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς. διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς πολλὰ μυστήρια, ἐν οἷς παρθένης ἀνεία δυναμείας ἄδειν, καὶ κτ' τὰ ἄλλα πεποικυμένας, τὰς ὧσα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰονομαζόμενας Μῆσας. τῶτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Απόλλωνα λίγυσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Μουσικήτην αὐτὸν ἀνομαῶσθαι. *l. ii. p. 10, 11.*

Militia,

Militia, and *Neptune* Admiral of his Fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to compleat the *Cortege*, he took with him a Company of Dancers and Singers, amongst which were nine brisk Girls more particularly eminent; with the King's Brother, as Master of the Maids, at their Head; and these truly are to pass for *Apollo* and the *nine Muses*. This quaint Improvement on an *Egyptian* Blunder, by some driveling grecanized Mythologist, as rank as it is, is one of the chief Circumstances on which our illustrious Author has thought fit to support his Chronology. And that which is the mere Representation of an old *Raree-shew* of the *Court of King Osiris*, brought by some Stroler out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, is made an authentic Record to ascertain the true Age of all their Heroes.

Again, *Sesostris*, because *Osiris* was so, is made the Inventor of Arts, and the Civilizer of a rude and barbarous People, to whom he delivered the Elements of Policy and Religion, many Ages after they had been a flourishing and powerful Empire. A Truth so well known to the Ancients, that, seeing these Things recorded of *Sesostris*, they reasonably understood *Osiris* to be meant by it. This doubtless made *Aristotle* say <sup>2</sup> that *Sesostris* was many Ages before *Minos*: and yet *Eusebius* places *Minos* in the Times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth *Dynasty* of *Africanus*, *Sesostris* is made to reign, according to the Calculation of *Scaliger* <sup>3</sup>, in the 1392 Year of the *Julian Period*; that very Point of Time on which the extravagant Chronology of *Egypt* had thrown *Osiris*. But there is a Passage in *Ælian* that proves still more expressly that the Ancients sometimes understood *Osiris* by *Sesostris*. The Egyptians

<sup>2</sup> Πολὺν ὥς ὑπερβαίνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μῖνον βασιλείαν ἡ Σισώτης.  
*Pol.* l. vii. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Marsham Can. Chron. Secul. X. tit. Nilus Rex.*

(says



(says this various Historian) affirm that Mercury taught Sesostris Laws<sup>b</sup>. And that Mercury the Contemporary of Osiris was here meant, is seen by another Passage of the same Writer where, this very Thing is said of all the Egyptians in general. The Egyptians boast that MERCURY taught them Laws<sup>c</sup>.

But though Mistake gave Birth to this Corruption in the Egyptian History, yet, without doubt, a national Vanity supported it. For we are told by Diodorus<sup>d</sup>, who collected from his History, that the Reason it assigns for that famous military Expedition, which it had transferred from Sesostris to Osiris, was his beneficent Purpose of carrying the new Inventions of Corn and Wine to all the Savage Inhabitants of the Earth; whom he purposed to reduce from a State of Nature, to civil Society. The intelligent Reader sees to what Purpose this Reason was invented, namely to do Honour to Egypt, as the common Benefactor of Mankind. Though I will not deny, but it shews, at the same Time, how much they were at a loss for a reasonable Cause of so early an Expedition. The Difficulties of all this did not escape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vast Discordancy and Confusion in the Accounts of Isis and Osiris<sup>e</sup>. This could not possibly escape him. What seems strange to me is, that he could not see the Cause of it, as here explained, when he had so well unraveled the like Confusion in the pa-

<sup>b</sup> Φασιν Αιγυπτιοι Σίσωσεν παρ' Ερμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμησσωθῆναι. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Αιγυπτιοί φασι παρ' Ερμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμησσωθῆναι. lib. xiv. c. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Τὸν δ' ὅσοις λίγιστον, ὥσπερ ἐνεργητικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, τρεπόμενον μίγα συστήσας, ἀγαθοὶ μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμενὴν, καὶ διδάσκειν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ τε τῆς ἀμπέλης φύσει καὶ τῇ ἀρότρῳ τῇ τε πυρίνῃ καὶ κελθίνῃ καρπῷ. l. i. p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> Καθόλου δ' πολλή τις ἐστὶ ἀξφωνία περὶ τῶν τῶν θεῶν. l. i. p. 15.

rallel Case of *Hercules* and *Alcæus*. Their History had been disordered, like this of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*, from the latter Heroes taking the Name of the former. But *Diodorus*, by the same kind of Reasoning<sup>f</sup> I employ to ascertain the Diversity of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*, shews *Alcæus* and *Hercules* to be different: namely from Actions given to *Alcæus* that could not belong to his Age. But they were of *different Nations*, the one a *Greek*, the other an *Egyptian*; and that, I suppose, afforded him a Light which he wanted in the Case of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*, both *Egyptians*.

But here it may be of Use to us, in forming a true Judgment on this Matter to observe, that this ancient Practice, of calling later Heroes by the Name of Earlier, whether of their own or other Countries, brought much greater Confusion into some of their Histories than into this of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*; as making the Ancients themselves imagine an *Identity* where there was none, as in *Bacchus*, *Neptune*,

ἡ Ὁμολογημένη ἡ δὲ οὐκ ὄντι παρὰ πάντων ὅτι τοῖς ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡ-  
ρακλῆς σωτηριώτατος τὴν πρὸς τὰς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ  
μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν γεννηκέναι τὰς γίγαντας κτ' τὴν ἱλικίαν, ἣν οἱ  
Ἕλληες φασὶν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι, γενεᾷ προτέραν τῇ Τρωϊκῇ· ἀλλὰ  
μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κτ' ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γίνεσιν τῇ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ'  
ἐκείνης μὲν ἡ παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη κατὰ εὐθεμίαν πλείω τῇ μυρίων,  
ἀπὸ δὲ τῇ Τρωϊκῇ ἐλάττω τῇ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ, τε  
ῥόπαλον καὶ τὸ λεοντὴν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατὰ ἐκεί-  
νης τὰς χρόνους μήπω τῇ ὅπλων ευρημένων, τὰς ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μὲν  
ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τὰς ἀντιπατομένους, ταῖς δὲ δορυφαῖς τῇ θηρίων σκε-  
πασθερίοις χρῆσθαι — συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἰσχυροῦς αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τῇ  
παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀρμόττειν φήμην, ὅτι κα-  
ταρθεὶς τὴν τῇ θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς, ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν  
τῷ γεγονότι χρὸν καὶ τὰς Τρωϊκὰς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς  
δικαιμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίας καὶ πόλεως, καὶ πλῆθος τῇ καλοικούντων  
τὴν χώραν πανταχῶς. μᾶλλον δὲ πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι καὶ τὰς ἀρχαί-  
ας χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρῃσιν τῆς χώρας, καλιχυομένων ἔτι τῇ ἀνθρώπων  
ὑπο τῇ πλῆθους τῇ θηρίων καὶ μάστιγι καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον, εἰς τὴν  
ὑπερκαμίναν χώραν μέλει τῇ ἰσχυρόν ὄντων καὶ θηρίων. lib. i.  
p. 14. 15.

*Hercules,*

*Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c.* which popular Mistakes, (as plain as they have been made appear to be so by the more Learned of those very Ancients) Sir *Isaac* employs to support another imaginary *Identity* which they never dreamt of. From this State of Antiquity I would inferr these two Things. *First*, that, notwithstanding the Conformity in the Histories of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, there is great Reason to suppose their real Difference, because the same kind of Conformity, arising from the same Mistake, is found in the Histories of many other ancient Heroes certainly different. *Secondly*, that there must have been, in Antiquity, some very convincing Proofs of the real Diversity of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, to keep them as it did perpetually distinct, notwithstanding the Conformity in their Histories; when the same kind of Conformity had reduced two or more *Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's* into one.

On the whole then, I have shewn, that a *Sameness of Name* is sufficient to account for the Conformity in the History of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*; and, having done that, I have done all that is needful to ascertain their *Diversity of Person*: There being nothing to oppose to the full Testimony of ancient History, which declares for their *Diversity*, besides this Conformity of Actions.

But I have done more: I have shewn, that a *Sameness of Name* was, in Fact, the only Cause of that Conformity; and, consequently, that their Persons were really different. That it could be only a *Sameness of Name*, I think, appears evidently from the giving to each Hero Actions discordant to his Age, as great Conquests to *Osiris*, and civil Inventions to *Sesostris*. For I persuade myself, though Sir *Isaac* is obliged, for the Sake of his Hypothesis, partly to support, and partly to palliate,

this later Circumstance, that no one can, in good Earnest, believe that *Egypt* was, indeed, emerging out of a State of Barbarity at the Time in which he places *Sesostris*. 'Tis true, if Men *will* suppose so, the best Argument I have against it, is only the **BIBLE**: and how far the Credit of that will go in this present enlightened Age is not very easy to guess. Now such *unsuitable Actions* nothing can account for but a *mistaken Identity*, arising from *sameness of Name*; for when this had *advanced*, or *brought down* the Antiquity of either, the Historian was to suit their Actions to the mistaken Time. And we know they are not at all scrupulous about Property, when they find an Atchievement in their Way, capable of adorning a favourite Hero. We have, as might be expected, a convincing Instance of this, in the History of *Sesostris*: of whom it was recorded, that he divided the Lands of *Egypt* amongst the People, reserving an annual Rent to the Crown<sup>ε</sup>. Now we are very certain this was done long before him, by the *Patriarch Joseph*. Here the Theft lies open, while these Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was some Difficulty to bring them to Conviction; as where two Cheats are taught to convey their stolen Goods backwards and forwards to evade a Pursuit: But here an honest Man comes in to claim his Property, and proves it beyond all Exception.

But it is, as we observed, our Business *only* to shew that the Conformity, in the Histories of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, may be well accounted for from a *sameness of Name*. Otherwise, if the Case required, we should not want positive Arguments, supported

ε — Κατανεῖμαι ἥ τὴν χώραν Ἀιγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τῶτον ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλείαν [Σίσωσεν] κληροῖν ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετραγώνῳ δίδοντα. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσηγορίας ποιήσαντες, ἐπιλάξοντα ἀποφορῇ ἀπολελίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Herod. I. ii. c. 109.

by

by the soundest Part of Antiquity, to prove their Difference of Person. To mention one or two only by the Way; we have observed before<sup>h</sup>, that, in substituting *Hero* to *Planet-worship*, the *Egyptian* Rulers, in order to bring the People more easily into this later Species of *Idolatry*, called the *Hero-God* by the Name of a *celestial God*. So *Diodorus* tells us, *that Sol first reigned in Egypt; called so from the Luminary of that Name in the Heavens*. For the same Purpose too, namely to *accustom* the People, even while in the Practice of *Planet-worship*, to the new Adoration, they turned the Compliment the other Way; and called the *Luminary* after the Name of the *Hero*; the same Historian telling us that *they called the Sun, Osiris, and the Moon, Isis*. Now the End of this mutual transferring of *Names* being only, as we have shewn, to strengthen their *new Idolatry* by giving it a Support from the *old*, it must needs be invented on the *first Introduction* of *Hero-worship*. But *Hero-worship*, as hath been largely proved, in divers Parts of this Work, was as early as the first Institution of civil Policy. Therefore the using the Name of *Osiris* to this Purpose, is Demonstration that he was as early as the sober Chronologists suppose. Again, *Herodotus* expressly tells us, and of his own Knowledge, that no Gods, besides *Isis* and *Osiris*, were worshipped by all the *Egyptians* in the same unvariable Manner<sup>i</sup>. This I take to be a demonstrative Proof of their being the *common Benefactors* of all *Egypt*, in the Invention of Corn, Wine, and Civil Policy, as the *Egyptian Annals* deliver. Their other *Hero-Gods*, as *particular and partial Benefactors*, being wor-

<sup>h</sup> See *D. L.* vol. i. p. 467. & seq.

<sup>i</sup> Θεός γὰρ δὴ ἔ τος αὐτὰς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Ἀιγύπτιοι σέβονταί, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε, καὶ Ὀσίριδος· τῶν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τὰς δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονταί. l. ii. c. 42.

shipped variously. But this fixes them in their high Antiquity. Again, the *Calf* and *Ox* are owned to be the peculiar Symbols of *Osiris*: but the *Golden Calf* I have proved to be an *Egyptian* Symbol; therefore *Osiris*, at least, as old as *Moses*. And again, our great Author owns that the King who invented Agriculture in *Egypt*, seems to have been worshipped by his Subjects in the *Ox* or *Calf* for this Benefaction. Now the *Ox* or *Calf* was the Symbol of *Osiris*. But Agriculture we certainly know was invented before the Time of *Joseph*, which will bring us to seek for *Osiris* 700 Years higher than *Sesac* who is our Author's ancient *Osiris* or *Sesostris* of *Egypt*. But as Sir *Isaac*'s own Words seem so much to shake his System, I shall quote them at length. *The lower Part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was scarce inhabited before the Invention of Corn, which made it useful: And the King who by this Invention first peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the King of the City Mesir, where Memphis was afterwards built, seems to have been worshipped by his Subjects after Death, in the Ox or Calf for this Benefaction* <sup>k</sup>.

But to return: Such were the Blunders in the History of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, which Sir *Isaac* has taken Advantage of to prove these Heroes one and the same. And it is certain, as we said before, that had not the sure Records of Antiquity kept them separate, this jumbling of their Actions with one another had undoubtedly long ago incorporated them together; and left no Room for Sir *Isaac*'s Discovery. For the Ancients were extremely fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the Case of *Bacchus*, whose History we come now to consider.

<sup>k</sup> Pag. 197, 198.

II. For Sir *Isaac* further strengthens the Evidence of their Identity from *Egyptian History*, with the *Grecian Mythology*; in which *BACCHUS* is delivered to us as one with *Osiris*: and at the same Time being but two Generations earlier than the *Trojan War*, the very Age of *Sesostris*, this, in his Opinion reduces all three to one<sup>l</sup>.

This Identity of *Bacchus* and *Osiris*, *Diodorus Siculus* has very accurately confuted<sup>m</sup>. But to discover the general Cause of this, and all other their mistaken *Identities*, we must trace down the Religion of *Greece* from its Original.

It is a certain Truth, agreed on by ancient and modern Writers, that *civilized Greece* received its Religion from *Egypt*. But the Way in which this Commerce was carried on is not so well understood. It is commonly supposed to have been done by adopting, and worshipping the very *Egyptian* Gods themselves. But this is a capital Mistake. It was not till long after their first Acquaintance with *Egypt*, and Instruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted *Egyptian* Gods; which I shall now endeavour to shew.

In the barbarous Ages of *Greece*, their only Gods were those *natural* Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries<sup>n</sup>. But, on their first Commerce with *Egypt*, for the Arts of Policy, they there found a new Species of Idolatry, the Worship of *dead Men*; which *civilized Egypt* had invented: and which, as they improved in Policy, had almost worked out their first *natural* Deities; the same with those of all other *uncivilized Nations*<sup>o</sup>. This *new* Species, the *Greeks*, (beginning now to take the *Egyptians* for their Models in *religious* as well as in *civil* Matters) greedily embraced; and so began to worship *dead Men* deified. Thus far is agreed; the mate-

<sup>l</sup> Pag. 191. <sup>m</sup> lib. i. p. 14. <sup>n</sup> See *D. L.* vol. i. pag. 466. <sup>o</sup> id. ib.

rial Question is, whether their Object were *Egyptian* Hero-Gods; or whether, in Imitation of that *Egyptian* Worship, they made Hero-Gods of their own? The common Opinion is that they took the *Egyptian Hero-Gods*. I suppose, on the contrary, that they must needs make *Hero-Gods of their own*; and could not, *at that Time*, receive the other. My Reason is this plain one.

The greater celestial Bodies were *Deities* in *common*, as their Influence *sensibly* extended over the whole habitable Globe. But Hero-worship introduced the new Idea of *local tutelary Deities*: and this necessarily. For those Heroes were the distinguished Benefactors of their own Country, at the *Expence*, frequently, of that of others: and, for such Benefits, deified. Now several Causes concurred to make Men *teach*, and *think*, that the Care and Providence of their *Heroes*, now become *Gods*, was still, as in Life, confined to their own dear Country. Such as the superior Reverence which Rulers knew the People would pay to a God who had them in peculiar; while he would be supposed, as being undistracted with other Cares, to be at full Liberty to attend to the minutest Concerns of his own People. Such again, as the Selfishness and Pride of the Worshipers, who would be for ingrossing their God to themselves; and raising Honour to their Country from this imaginary Propriety. So that the Opinion, of *local tutelary Deities*, became, at length, one of the most general and fundamental Doctrines of *Paganism*. And is delivered, as such, by *Plato*: who speaking of the Notion, yet, as the Origin of Hero-Gods from Humanity, was to be kept out of Sight, necessarily disguises the Rise of it. *The Gods* (says he) *formerly divided the whole Earth amongst themselves by Lot. Not from any Contention or Quarrel about their Rights* (for



(for it is absurd to suppose they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar Care; or knowing this, endeavour by Violence to possess themselves of one another's Property :) But all of them receiving, in an amicable Manner, what fell to their Share, in this just Method of Distribution, each resided on his own peculiar: which, having rendered proper for the Habitation of a People, they lead and support them like Flocks and Herds in a Pasture — Every God therefore having his proper Allotment, all his Endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own<sup>P</sup>. This was so flattering a Notion, that, in after Times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worship: and each Climate was supposed to be under the proper Presidency of its own Star or Constellation. So that the Writer of the Book, called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, seems to make this the distinguishing Mark of Paganism; where praising the God of Israel for his ancient Mercies to that People, he says, *neither is there any God but thou, that carest for ALL*<sup>Q</sup>.

Now, such a kind of tutelary God, the Egyptians would be so far from offering to the Use of others, that they would be carefull to keep them to themselves. Hence the old Practice of chaining down their Gods (for *Hero-Gods* were worshipped by Statues in human Form) when they imagined them disposed to ramble, or to take a liking to any of their Neighbours. And as they would be averse to lending, so the Greeks would be as little

<sup>P</sup> Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπαντες γῆν ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς τέχνας διαλάττοντες, καὶ κατ' ἕνα (ὃ γὰρ αὖν ὁρθὸν ἔχει λόγον, θεὸς ἀγνοεῖν τὰ περὶ τοιαῦτα ἐκάστος αὐτῶν, ὃ δ' αὖν γνώσκουσιν τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσήκον, τῷτο ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς δι' εἰδὼν ἐπιχειρεῖν κτεῖναι) δικῆς ἢ κλήρης τὰ φίλων λαλῶντες καὶ φίλοι τὰς χώρας καὶ καὶ οικίας, οἷον νομῆς κτήματα καὶ ποίμνα καὶ θέρματα ἰαυτῶν ἡμᾶς ἑτρεφον. — ἄλλοι μὲν ἐν κατ' ἄλλους τέχνας κληροχῆσαντες θεῶν ἐκείνων ἐκόσμεον. Vol. iii. pag. 109. Ser. Ed. <sup>Q</sup> Cap. xii. 13.

inclined to borrowing; for they had now a Race of Heroes of their own; those Godlike Men, who had reduced them from a *savage* to a *civilized* Condition, and had given them this Appetite, to improve their Policy in Search after *Egyptian* Wisdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that Wisdom home to them, be disposed to offer them *Egyptian* Gods; as knowing how much stronger their Disposition and Reverence would be to Gods made out of their own Parents and Fellow-Citizens. But if this were the Case, (and, in the Course of the Inquiry, it will be proved from *Fact*, as here from the *Reason of the Thing*) it may be asked, what then was that *Religion* which all agree the *Greeks* borrowed of the *Egyptians*? I answer, the *Trade* itself of *Hero-worship*: or the Custom of deifying their dead Benefactors. But again, if so, and that the *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, &c. first worshipped by the *Greeks*, were indeed *Grecian* Deities, it will be further asked, how came their Resemblance to the *Egyptian* to be so great, as that later Times should be generally deceived in thinking them the same? This is a reasonable Question, and will deserve a particular Answer. There were several Causes of this *Resemblance*.

1. Nothing could be more simple than the *Ritual* of the first *Planet-worship*, as may be easily collected from the Nature of that Idolatry. But *Hero-worship* necessarily introduced a great Number of *complex* Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar Benefits received from the Hero-God, in his State of Humanity, would occasion many *specific Rites*: And the shadowing or concealing the Blemishes, in his moral Character, would introduce many *Allegorical ones*. As his descent from Earth in general gave Rise to the Consultation of *Oracles*,  
and

and Adoration of *Statues in human Form*. Now, when *Greece* borrowed of *Egypt* the Superstition of Hero-worship, they would, of course, borrow such of their RITES and Practices as were peculiar to that Superstition: and adapt them to all, or each of their own Hero-Gods, as best suited every one's Character. And for the Truth of this we have the express Testimony of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the first Authors of religious Festivals, Processions, and Offerings, and that the Greeks learnt them of that People*<sup>r</sup>. But this Resemblance, even without a studious Application of *Egyptian Rites*, must have arisen from the very Practice itself of Hero-worship; as appears from what we have observed of the Nature of those Ceremonies that Hero-worship necessarily introduces. To confirm this, we need only consider the Case of those *Hero-worshippers* of the *North* and *West*, the *Gauls* and *Suevi*; who did not, like the *Greeks* borrow this Idolatry from *Egypt*; being indebted for it to nothing but the Corruption of our common Nature. Now the *Gods* of these Barbarians, and the *Rites* with which they were adored, resembled the Religion of *Greece* and *Rome* so perfectly, that those People, (as we see by their Accounts of the *Gauls* and *Suevi*,) thought their Gods to be the same with their own, only under different Names<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> — Πανηγύρεις ἡ ἄρα καὶ πομπαὶ καὶ προσεχγῶναι περὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ δούλων Ἀιγυπτίῳ εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων μιμαθήκασι. l. ii. c. 58.

<sup>s</sup> Hear how little doubt *Julius Cæsar* had of this Matter; speaking of the *Gauls*, he says, *Deum maximè Mercurium colunt* — *Post hunc*; *Apollinem* & *Martem* & *Jovem* & *Minervam*. *De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes habent Opinionem*. *De Bell. Gal. l. vi. sect. 15*. The Reason he gives, is that the several Gods of *Gaul* had Attributes correspondent to those of *Greece* and *Rome*. Hence he, as most other Writers did, concluded them to be the same.

This

This was indeed a gross Mistake; but almost unavoidable. So great a Resemblance have Heroes of all Times and Places ever born to one another. Now if the Gods of these Barbarians, though different in Name, were for this Resemblance mistaken for the Gods of another People, with whom they had no Commerce; what Wonder was it that the *Grecian* Gods, who had the same Name with those of a People with whom *Greece* held a perpetual Commerce, should, for the like Resemblance, be believed to be originally *Egyptian*? To this common Resemblance, likewise, it was, that, at length, almost every Nation, as we are told by *Diodorus*, pretended the Gods came originally from them.

2. For, secondly, when the *Greeks* borrowed *Egyptian* Rites to enrich their Worship, they borrowed *Egyptian* NAMES of Honour to adorn their Gods. Thus, for Instance, the Name of *Bacchus*, one of the Appellations of *Osiris*, was given to the Son of *Semele*. *Herodotus* assures us, that these they borrowed: and that this was all the borrowing the *Egyptians*, in his Time, pretended to<sup>t</sup>. And, in his Account of the *Pelasgi*, he confirms this Truth, in a very curious Piece of History. “ In former  
“ Times, (says he) the *Pelasgi* in their religious  
“ Worship used to offer every thing, without Dis-  
“ tinction, in Sacrifice to their Gods, as I was  
“ informed by the Priests at *Dodona*. They gave  
“ neither *Name* nor *Surname* to any of their Gods:  
“ for they had heard of no such Practice. But

<sup>t</sup> Σχεδόν ὃ καὶ πάντα τὰ Οἰνομᾶτα τῶν Θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἰληλυθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔκει, πυνθανόμενοι ἔτι ἐνέεισκον ἑόν. δοκίω δ' ὦν μάλιτα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆλθαι. ὅ, τι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδώνου, καὶ Διοσκύρου (ὡς καὶ παρῳ- ρόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται) καὶ Ἥρας, καὶ Ἰσίδος καὶ Θέμιου, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοις αἰείκοι τὰ ἐπὶ οὐνοῖς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χάρι. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγυπτίοι. l. ii. c. 50.

“ their

“ their *Titles* were taken from what their Wor-  
 “ shippers conceived of their Providence, directing  
 “ and ordering all Things fitly and harmoniously.  
 “ But after a long Course of Time, they heard of  
 “ other Gods, and of their NAMES, which came  
 “ from *Egypt*, and in the last Place of the *Name*  
 “ of BACCHUS. Sometime after they asked Coun-  
 “ sel of the Oracle of *Dodona* concerning these  
 “ NAMES. For this Oracle is supposed to be the  
 “ oldest of any in *Greece*; and, at the Time I am  
 “ speaking of, the only one. Of this Oracle there-  
 “ fore, I say, they asked Advice whether they  
 “ should admit the NAMES, that came from the  
 “ Barbarians into their Religion. To which  
 “ Answer was returned, that they should admit  
 “ them. From that Time<sup>u</sup> therefore they sacri-

<sup>u</sup> It is remarkable, that though *Herodotus* tells us, these *Pel-  
 lasgians*, before their Knowledge or Admission of the *Egyptian*  
*Names*, sacrificed to their Gods, “Εθνον δὲ πάλιν πρῶτον εἰδὲ  
 Πελασγοί, yet when they had admitted these *Names*, he gives  
 the Matter of sacrificing as one Change that this Admission  
 had introduced; from that Time, says he, they sacrificed δὲν πρῶ-  
 τῶν τούτων ἔχοντες ἔθνον. A Passage in *Julius Cæsar* will ex-  
 plain it. After this Writer had given an Account of the Gods  
 of the *Gauls*, who, living under a civil Policy, worshipped Hero-  
 Gods; he goes on to those of the uncivilized *Germans*, which  
 he tells us were only the *Celestial Luminaries* and *Elements*.  
*Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus*  
*apertè juvantur; Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam. Reliquos ne*  
*fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bel. Gal. l. vi. sect. 19. The very  
 Gods, as we observed, of all the uncivilized Idolaters upon  
 Earth. Now of these Barbarians he adds, *Neque Druides habent,*  
*qui rebus divinis præsent; neque SACRIFICIIS STUDENT.* They  
 were not nice and exact in the Matter of sacrificing; and no  
 Wonder, for they had no *Priests*. Now *Herodotus*, speaking of  
 his Barbarians, informs us of the same Thing in other Words,  
*They sacrificed*, says he, *every Thing without Distinction*, this was  
 the *neque sacrificiis Student* of *Cæsar*. But when they came to  
 use the *Names* of the *Egyptian* Gods, then ἔθνον they sacrificed,  
 i. e. made a Study of it, had a long Ritual concerning it, and  
 no longer sacrificed without Distinction.

“ ficed

“ ficed with multifarious Rites, in which they ho-  
 “ noured their Gods with these new Appellations.  
 “ And, from the *Pelafgi*, the *Greeks* afterwards took  
 “ up the same Custom. But the Original of each  
 “ God, and whether they are all from Eternity,  
 “ and what is their several Kinds or Natures, to  
 “ speak the Truth, they neither knew at that Time  
 “ nor since w.

From this remarkable Passage may be deduced the following Facts: which besides their Proof of the Matter in Question, are very corroborative of our general Explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, which was the Point to be proved, that the *Greeks* borrowed the *Names* of the *Egyptian* Gods \*, receiving them, as *Herodotus* here supposes,

w “Εθνοι δὲ πάντα πρῶτον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι, ἐποχόμενοι ὡς ἰγὰρ ἐν Δωδωνῇ οἶδα ἀκέσας· ἰωνιμῖν δ’ ἐδ’ ἔνομα ἰποιδόντο ἔδδει αὐτίων· ἢ γὰρ ἀπὸ κατακ. θεῶν δὲ πρῶτον ὀνόμασάν σφας δὲ δὲ τοῖσιν, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρηγμαῖε καὶ πάσας νμάς εἶχον· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ διεξελθόντες, ἐπύδοντο ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπὸ κόμῃ τὰ ἔνομα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διόνυσον δὲ ὕψιστον πολλῶν ἐπύδοντο· καὶ μὲν χρόνῳ ἐχρησθεῖσιν τῶν ἐνομάτων ἐν Δωδωνῇ. τὸ γὰρ δὲ μαντήσιον τῷτο νόμισον ἀρχαιοτάτου τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι χρηστέων εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τῶν μῶν. ἐπεὶ ἂν ἐχρησθεῖσιν τῶν ἐν Δωδωνῇ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰς ἀνέλιπον τὰ ἔνομα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦγοντα, ἀνέλε τὸ μαντήσιον χρῆμα. ἀπὸ μὲν δὲ τῶν χρόνον εἶδον, τοῖσι ἐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἑλλήνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕψιστον. “Ενθὺν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ’ αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες ὁποῖοι τε τινες τὰ εἶδη, ὅσην ἠπιστάτο μέχρι δὲ πρὸν τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. l. ii. c. 52, 53.

x It is pleasant to observe, how this *Communication of Names*, which made the Men, we are arguing against, infer, that the *Grecian* Gods were originally *Egyptian*, made another Party, such as *Bochart*, *Huet*, and *Fourmont*, conclude they were originally *Jewish*. Thus the last of these Writers in one Place says, — *Par tout ce discours il est clair que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, &c. en general tous les Peuples Guerriers ont adoré Mars sans le connôître, &c. que c’etoit un Dieu originairément Phenicien, comme les autres grands Dieux.* [*Reflex. Crit.* vol. i. p. 103.] And in another Place, — *Mais en voilà assez sur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme*

by

by the Hands of the *Pelasgians*. 2. That they received nothing but the *Names*, with which they honoured their own Gods. 3. That the Humour of these ancient Inhabitants of *Greece* was so far from disposing them to take *Egyptian*, or *Stranger Gods*, that they would not so much as venture on their *Names* till they had consulted the Oracle. 4. That this *Religion of Names* came in with *Hero-worship*; to which Species of Gods it was an honorary Attribution; and unknown to the Worshipers of the *natural Divinities*, as the *Pelasgians* and all other uncivilized People. 5. That this *Religion of Names* was a Thing of much Consequence in the *Egyptian* Superstition, and even *Characteristic* of it. Which the Reader is desired to observe as of Use to explain some Passages in the next Section, concerning the Propensity of the *Israelites* to that Superstition. 6. That *one Cause* of that Ignorance; which, *Herodotus* here tells us, the *Greeks* ever laboured under, concerning the Original, Nature, and Species of their Gods, (and which, as appears from hence, we had not unjustly charged upon them, when we ventured to say the same Thing in several Parts of this Work,) one Cause I say was this, that those *Names* which the *Pelasgians* had applied to their *natural Divinities*, the *Greeks*, their Successors, took and transferred to their *Hero-Gods*. To proceed,

3. The *Greeks* not only borrowed the *Names*, but likewise, the *SYMBOLS* of the *Egyptian* Gods; and adapted them to their own. How natural this was we may see by the Practice of the idolatrous *Hebrews* in the Wilderness; who, in the Absence

*l'on voit, avoit été fort illustre sans être connu.* [p. 156.] For, according to these Men, an ancient *Pagan* Hero was never known till his Pedegree had been traced up into the Holy Family.

of

of *Moses*, running back into *Egyptian Superstitions*, would needs worship the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*. And, not only so, but by *Egyptian Rites* likewise, *And the People sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*. Now had God, on this Occasion, persisted in the Severity of his Justice, where he tells *Moses*, that he would indeed give them the Land of *Canaan*, because he had so promised *Abraham*, and would drive out the Inhabitants before them; yet that he would not honour them as a select People, with his peculiar Protection: Had, I say, God thus cast them off, and the People departed with their new Leader, the *golden Calf*, into *Canaan*; and there made it the visible Representative of the God of their Fathers, and worshipped it with *Egyptian Rites*; who can doubt but that the late Posterity of this People, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a Lie*, would themselves suppose that their Forefathers had worshipped *Osiris*, and not *Jehovah*, under this *golden Calf*. The Case needs no Application.

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ceived the Absurdity; and so, reasonably, satisfied themselves in supposing *two Bacchus's*: but being, as *Herodotus* observes above, *very ignorant of the true Origine of their Religion*, they could give but a very imperfect Reason of a *double Bacchus*. Which enabled Sir *Isaac* the more easily to evade their Solution; by only supposing it was their wrong Notion of the high Antiquity of *Egypt* that made them split *one Bacchus* into *two*. And yet, in another Instance, he frankly enough owns this ancient Practice of the *Communication of Names*<sup>d</sup>. But he mistakes the true State of the Case. They were the *Greeks* of *earlier Times* which worshipped *two Bacchus's*. And it was *late*, as we find by *Diodo-*

“ Name of *Bacchus*, at least one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and  
 “ one in *Greece*; but we must not confound them one with the  
 “ other, especially when we have remarkable Hints by which  
 “ we may sufficiently distinguish them. For, 1. The *Indian*  
 “ *Bacchus* was the first and most ancient of all that bore that Name.  
 “ 2. He was the first that pressed the Grape and made Wine.  
 “ 3. He lived in these Parts before there were any Cities in  
 “ *India*. 4. They say he was twice born, and that he was  
 “ nourished in the Thigh of *Jupiter*. These are the Particu-  
 “ lars which the Heathen Writers give us of the *Indian Bacchus*,  
 “ and from all these Hints it must unquestionably appear that  
 “ he was *NOAH*, and no other. *Noah* being the first Man in  
 “ the *post-diluvian* World, lived early enough to be the most  
 “ ancient *Bacchus*; and *Noah* according to *Moses* was the first  
 “ that made Wine. *Noah* lived in those Parts as soon as he  
 “ came out of the Ark, earlier than there were any Cities built  
 “ in *India*; and as to the last Circumstance of *Bacchus* being  
 “ twice born, and brought forth out of the Thigh of *Jupi-*  
 “ *ter*, *Diodorus* gives us an unexpected Light into the true  
 “ Meaning of this Tradition; he says, that *Bacchus* was said  
 “ to be twice born, because in *Deucalion's Flood* he was thought  
 “ to have perished with the rest of the World, but God brought  
 “ him again as by a second Nativity into the Sight of Men, and  
 “ they say, Mythologically, that he came out of the Thigh of *Ju-*  
 “ *piter*. Connection vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

<sup>d</sup> The Phœnicians upon their first coming into Greece gave the Name of *Jao-pater*, *Jupiter*, to every King. p. 150. Chron. of Anc. Kings Amended.

*rus,*



rus, e're they incorporated them into one<sup>c</sup>. Now had the Cause of their Duality been what the great Writer supposes, the Fact had been just otherwise; and *earlier* Times had worshipped *one Bacchus*, and the *later*, *two*. The Truth of the Case then is this, when they first worshipped Hero-Gods, they had but one *Bacchus* and one *Hercules*, &c. and these were *Grecian*. When they afterwards borrowed the *Egyptian* Gods they had two of each; and this we say, not on Conjecture, for *Herodotus*<sup>f</sup> and *Diodorus*<sup>g</sup> expressly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two *Hercules's* were worshipped by different Rites, and as Gods of different Species; the one *Grecian*, the other *Egyptian*. And at length, for the Causes explained under the next Head, the two of each were again reduced to one. For we shall now see, that *Design* as well as *Mistake* contributed to the confounding the *Greek Bacchus* with the *Egyptian*.

III. But our illustrious Author makes another Use of the *Grecian Mythology*, to support his System.

<sup>c</sup> Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὴν παραγορεύσθηναι λέγουσι, ὡς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπαρῆσαι τῶς δύο Διόνυσους, μηλέων ἢ θυῶν. κακλήρονομα κίμαι ἢ τὴν νεώτερον τὰς ἑ παραγενέσθην παλαιῆς. διόπερ τῶς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπων, ΑΓΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν τὰληθές, πλαυηθέντας ἢ ὡς τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἕνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον. l. iv. p. 148.

<sup>f</sup> — Καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι ἔτσι ὁρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποίειν, οἱ διὰ τὴν Ἡρόκλειαν ἰδρυσάμενοι ἔκληνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩ, Ὀλυμπίῳ ἢ ἑπωνυμίῳ, δύοσι τῶ δ' ἐτίεω, ὡς Ἡρώ, ὡναγίζουσι. *Herod.* l. ii. c. 44.

<sup>g</sup> Μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες καὶ ἔτερον Διόνυσον γενέσθαι πολλοὺς τοῖς ἑλλήνων παλαιῶν τάττει. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβάζων ὀνομαζόμενον ἢ τῇ τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεσάγουσι, ὡς τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς ἐπακολούθησαν. *Diod.* l. iv. p. 148. The *nightly* and *secret* Rites shew them to be *Egyptian*. As for what is said of this *Bacchus's* being the Son of *Proserpine*; that was only a Fancy of the *Greeks* on observing the *Mysteries* of *Bacchus* and *Ceres* or *Isis* to be so much alike; which Resemblance was only occasioned by their being both *Egyptian* Rites.

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He considers the *Genealogies* of their Gods and Heroes: and finds *them* to coincide with the Time of *Sesostris*<sup>h</sup>. A Confirmation and further evidence of the Truth of his Opinion.

There are but few Cases in which one would *seriously* offer a Mythologic Writer in Evidence. But surely, the very last he should be heard in is the settling of *Dates*. The most Learned of the modern Writers are full of Complaints concerning this utter Confusion of Time in which the *Pagan Mythologists* have thrown their early History. The great *Stillingfleet* expresses himself in this Manner —  
*Thus we see those [Thucydides and Plutarch, whose Confession he had quoted] who were best able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no sure Footing to stand on in them; and what Basis can we find for our Faith where they could find so little for their Knowledge? And those who have been more daring and venturous than these Persons mentioned, what a Labyrinth have they run themselves into? How many Confusions and Contradictions have they involved themselves in? sometimes writing the Passages of other Countries for those of Greece, and at other Times so confounding Times, Persons, and Places, that one might think they had only a Design upon the Understandings of their Readers, to make them play at Blind-Man's-Buff in searching for the Kings of Greece*<sup>i</sup>. And the excellent Cumberland speaks so much to our Purpose, that I shall add his Words to the foregoing — *Their Mythick Writers confound and lose all the Times of their Gods, which Advantage divers Christians make use of against them: and this was a good Argument ad Hominem, as it is called, but is not sufficient to prove, that Idolatry, and the Heathen Gods, are of so late an Original, as some both Heathen*

<sup>h</sup> Pag. 191. & seq. of the *Chron. of Anc. Kingdoms Amended*.

<sup>i</sup> *Orig. Sacr.* p. 41, 8<sup>th</sup> Ed.

and

and Christians have affirmed them to be <sup>k</sup>. Now though in Answer to what Sir Isaac brings from such Writers, it would be enough to say, with every one who has considered their Character before me, that they are so infinitely fabulous, confused, and contradictory, that nothing certain can be concluded, from their Accounts, in the Regulation of ancient Time; yet that they may never appear again amongst Witnesses of Credit, or in Matters of sober History, I shall endeavour to shew from what Sources those Accounts arose, on which the low Date of the *Egyptian* Gods is founded: whence it will appear that they are rank Fables invented and contrived, as usual, only for the Support of Greater.

1. The first Source was the Address of the *Egyptian Priests*, to screen their *Hero-worship* from the Inquisition of the Curious. We have observed above, from a famous Fable which the *Egyptian Priests* invented<sup>l</sup>, to record the Danger this Superstition incurred, and their Art in evading it, that the Original of their *Hero-Gods* was a Subject maliciously pursued by the free Inquirers of those Times. For the Discredit of this Superstition was that these Gods had been *Men*; and the Proof of their Humanity was fetched from their *late Existence*. Now what did these Masters in their Trade do to evade this *Proof*? (we have seen before what they did to obscure the *Inquiry*) Why, by an equal Effort of their Skill, they invented a Set of Fables, one of which has been examined above<sup>m</sup> concerning these Gods; which brought their Births even lower down

<sup>k</sup> *Sanchoniatho* p. 132, 133.

<sup>l</sup> Pag. 190. The Fable I mean is that of *Typhon's* Persecution of the Gods and their Flight into *Egypt*; which the *Greeks* borrowed and fitted up with their own Names of the Gods.

<sup>m</sup> Pag. 189.

than the Times of their certainly recorded Worship. What they gained by this was considerable; it threw a general Confusion over the History of their Actions: and in a short Time, made Men as indisposed to believe the *old Stories* of them, from whence the dangerous Truth of their *Humanity* might be evinced; as these *new Fables*, which it was impossible they should credit, for the Reason just now assigned. Hence, as we say, the *first* Source of the low Dates of these Hero-Gods.

2. The *second*, was the strange Vanity of the *Greeks* in pretending, at length, to be original to the *Egyptians*. For we are to observe that there were *three* distinguished Periods in the Religion of *civilized Greece*; two of which we have described already. The *first* was, when the *Greeks* borrowed *Egyptian* Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-Gods. The *second*, when they adopted the very *Egyptian* Gods: And the *third*, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the *Egyptians* had adopted theirs. On their first Acquaintance with *Egypt*, they were modest, and fairly allowed its superior Antiquity. But as they advanced in Arts and Empire, they grew intoxicated with their good Fortune: and would now contend with *Egypt*, become by this Time as much fallen and depressed in both, for the Honour of Priority: and soon after, (as was no Wonder, when they had ventured so far) with all the rest of Mankind<sup>n</sup>. And then it was (having now thoroughly confounded the *Grecian* and *Egyptian Bacchus* with Design, which Confusion they had begun through Mistake) that they invented many Fables to countenance their ridiculous Pretensions. Hence their idle Tale of *Apis* the Son or

<sup>n</sup> Λαοθάνησι δ' αὐτὰς τὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων καθαρδύματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὲν ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπων ἡγεῖς, Βαρεβάριος πρὸς ἀπ' ὁρίων. Diogenes Laertius, Proæm. Segm. 3.

Grandson of *Phoroneus*, becoming *Osiris*; without any other Reason in the World than this, that the Son of *Phoroneus* chanced to have the same Name with the Symbol of *Osiris*. Hence, again, the Fable of *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus*, becoming *Isis*; for scarce so good a Reason, only an approaching Similitude of Names. Yet these two wretched Fables, Sir *Isaac*, as surprising as it is, has drawn in for the main Supports of his Hypothesis°. But as much Credit as his Adoption has given them, he that can believe *Io* was stolen out of *Greece*, carried into *Egypt*, and there made a Goddess, may as well think it likely that an *European* Ship should bring hither an *Indian* Savage to be made a Queen.

But another Story, of the same Stamp, carries its own Conviction along with it, as *Herodotus* rightly observed P. For, to bring *Hercules* (as they had done *Isis* and *Osiris*) out of *Greece* into *Egypt*, in a Manner suitable to his Character, they pretended that when he came thither, and was led by the *Egyptians*, crowned with Garlands, to be offered up in Sacrifice at the Altar of *Jupiter*, he broke loose from his Leaders, and killed all the *Egyptians* there assembled; and in this rough Manner, I suppose, taught them to abolish human Sacrifices, and to worship him as a God: which seems to have been the first bringing in of Club-Law into Religion. But, as *Herodotus* observes, the Inventor of this Fable laid his Story ill together, and shewed himself quite ignorant of *Egyptian* Manners. For, that, from the most early Time, they were so far from offering human Sacrifices, that it was unlawful to offer up above three or four Species of Ani-

° P. 192. of his *Chronology*.

P Λίγυσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκίπῳς οἱ Ἕλληνες. εὐθὺς δ' αὐτίκῃ καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστίν, τὴν αὖτις Ἡρακλῆος λίγυσι ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπικτόρῃσι ἐς Ἀίγυπτον, *Gr.* l. ii. c. 45.

mals. But the *Egyptians* owed them a good Turn for this Slander of *human Sacrifices*; and indeed paid them with Usury. For *Herodotus* tells us the *Egyptian* Priests informed him, that when *Menelaus* went to *Egypt* to enquire after *Helen*, and lay there Wind-Bound, he cut up two Children of the Natives, to divine by their Entrails <sup>9</sup>.

This Humour was so rooted in the *Greeks* that *Diodorus* seems to insinuate, they *always* disputed the Point of Priority with the *Egyptians* <sup>r</sup>. And so far is true that it was one of their most early Vanities <sup>s</sup>: and though afterwards, on their first Acquaintance with *Egypt* it was corrected, yet it burst out again, and lasted, as we see, even to the Time of *Diogenes Laertius*. But this is what was pleasant in the Matter. The *Egyptians* were not content to complain, as well they might, that the *Greeks* had stolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would make Reprisals upon them; and, in reclaiming their own, take away with them the undoubted Property of the *Greeks*. Thus *Diodorus* tells us, that when they charged the *Greeks* with taking away their *Isis*, they asserted an equal Right to *Perseus* <sup>t</sup>. Nay to aggravate the Theft, they pretended that *Athens* itself was originally but an *Egyptian Colony* <sup>u</sup>. This was a home Thrust. But the *Greeks*, recollecting all their Force in one Proofs, and aiming to strike their Adversaries to the very Vitals, affirmed, that one of the *Egyptian Py-*

<sup>9</sup> Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἑτομά σφρα ἰκόνισε.  
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<sup>r</sup> Περὶ δὲ τῆς βίῃ ἦσαν γένεσ ἀρχαίῳ τῷ ὃ μόνον ἀμφισβητῶντες Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες, — p. 6. <sup>s</sup> See p. 28, 29.

<sup>t</sup> Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γεγενῆσθαι κατ' Αἴγυπτον. p. 15.

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ramids was built by RHODOPE a *Grecian Whore*<sup>w</sup>. But this setting up one false Claim to oppose another was in the very Spirit of ancient *Paganism*<sup>x</sup>. Thus again, the *Egyptians* maintaining that civilized *Greece* owed its Religion to them; they pretended, in order to support a just Claim, which did not want it, to a most extravagantly high Antiquity. The *Greeks* on their Parts, to be even with them, and to support a false one that did, having pretended that the *Egyptians* borrowed all from them, brought down the Age of these disputed Gods as much too low. Unluckily, the great Author, who saw the unreasonable *Antiquity* of the one System, did not see the as unreasonable *Novelty* of the other.

But we are not to think the *Greeks* firm and steady in this first natural Consequence of their unjust Pretensions. Nothing is so inconstant as Falshood. When, on the Issue therefore, they found, that all the Records of those Times were seen to contradict this Novelty; and, consequently, that their darling Claim itself was likely to be in Danger, they shifted their *Support*, and then contended, as

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<sup>x</sup> See *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 430. where we have shewn, that the Gentile Converts unhappily practised it even after their pretended Conversion to a Religion that condemns all the oblique Arts of Falshood.

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we may see by *Plato*, in Imitation of the *Egyptians*, for as extravagant an Antiquity<sup>γ</sup>.

IV. Hitherto Sir *Isaac* was drawn in by Antiquity; which had sunk and foundered itself in the treacherous Soil of *Mythology*. But the greatest Part of his Reasoning, from these *Genealogies*, is on an Error of his own. The Age preceeding the Destruction of *Troy* is full of the Loves and Intrigues of the greater Gods: who supplied that Expedition with Heroes very nearly related to them. Sir *Isaac*, who supposed, as indeed he well might, from physical Observation, that the Gods and Goddesses left off getting and bearing Children when they died; concludes, from the *Mythologic* Account of their Offspring, that they must needs have *lived* but two or three Generations before the War of *Troy*. But our great Philosopher took this Matter a deal too *seriously*. The Truth is he concerned himself no further with the fabulous History of ancient Times than served the Purpose of his System. Otherwise he must have seen, on the most careless Survey, that one of the essential Attributes of a Pagan God was getting Bastards: and that for one he really had in Life, his Worshippers fathered a hundred upon him after his Decease. This amorous Commerce between Heaven and Earth continued even to the very late Times of Paganism; as we learn from the primitive Apologists; who referring to their perpetual Intrigues, in Mythologic Story, rally the Idolaters, of their Time, with great Vivacity, on the sudden old Age and Debility of their Gods.

γ — Πάριον δὲ πρῶτον μνησθῆναι, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐνείκεος ἔτη χίλια, ἀφ' ὧν γεγονώς ἐμνηύθη πόλεμος τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ Ἡερκλείας τήλας ἔξω καθίκεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς πᾶσιν· ὃν δὲ νῦν ἀποκρίνομεν. ἢ μὲν ἐν ἧδε ἡ πόλις ἀρχαῖα καὶ πάντεσσιν πόλεμον ἀποκρίνομεν· αἰεὶ ἐλπίεο. *Plato*, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

It

Sect. 5. of MOSES demonstrated. 251

It being notorious then, that every Age of the Pagan World swarmed with the Progeny of their Gods, Sir *Isaac*'s Conclusion from the Time of their Sons and Grandsons to *their own*, is altogether fallacious. But as, in these Inquiries, we have still attempted to account for the Fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their several Natures, and prevent their future Mischief, we shall now consider the Original of these.

1. The first Cause of this *doubly spurious Offspring*, was the Contrivance of Wives to hide their Adultery, and of Virgins to excuse their Incontinence. The God bore the Blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the Glory: and Passion, as is usual, was advanced into Piety. Great Men too, employed it, (for then great Men had some Regard for their Honour) to conceal the Ignominy of a base and low-born Commerce. In a Word, both Sexes soon learnt the Sweets of a holy Intrigue: where a pretended Converse with a God or Goddess preserved their Reputation and advanced their Power and Authority. Sometime the Amour between the real Parties was mutually concerted: as that of *Anchises* and a Country Wench; who, in Regard to his Honour, was to pass under the Name of *Venus*. So *Homer*<sup>2</sup>,

“ Divine *Aeneas* brings the *Dardan* Race,  
 “ *Anchises*’ Son by *Venus*’ stol’n embrace;  
 “ Born in the Shades of *Ida*’s secret Grove,  
 “ A mortal Mixing with the Queen of Love.

MR. POPE.

<sup>2</sup> Δαρδανίῳ αὖτ’ ἔρχιν, εἰς παῖς Ἀλχίσταο,  
 Ἀντίας· τὸν ὦτ’ Ἀλχίστην τίνε δὲ Ἀφροδίτην,  
 Ἰδης ἐν κρυπτοῖσι, διαβροχῇ ἐκνέπεισα. 11. β. γ. 819.

Yet this is one of the Instances Sir *Isaac* brings to prove the low Age of the Goddess *Venus*. See p. 191. of his *Chronology*.

And

And in a much lower Age the Wife of *Philip* of *Macedon* and her Court-Gallant. Sometime again, one of the Parties was deceived by the others impiously assuming the Mask of Divinity, as seems to have been the Case of *Astyochè* <sup>a</sup>.

“ Two valiant Brothers rule th’ undaunted Throng,  
 “ *Iälmen* and *Ascalaphus* the Strong :  
 “ Sons of *Astyochè* the Heav’nly Fair,  
 “ Whose Virgin charms subdu’d the God of War :  
 “ In *Aëtor’s* Court as *she retir’d to rest*,  
 “ The Strength of *Mars* the blushing Maid comprest.  
Mr. POPE.

And of the Priestess *Rhea*,

———— *Quem Rhea Sacerdos*  
*FURTIVUM partu sub luminis edidit auras,*  
*Mista Deo Mulier* <sup>b</sup>.

And of *Alcmene* the Mother of *Hercules*. And was certainly the Case of the virtuous *Paulina*, in the Reign of *Tiberius*: who being made to believe that the God *Anubis* was fallen in Love with her, went to the appointed Affignation with a Mind equally governed by conjugal Chastity and Superstition. The Story is very curious, and told by *Josephus* <sup>c</sup>, with all its Circumstances. In short, if we may believe *Ovid*, who was admirably skilled in *Mythologic* History, this was one of the most common Covers of Lust and Concupiscence. Hear how he makes the pretended Nurse of *Semele* caution her Mistress against the Addresses of *Jupiter*,

<sup>a</sup> Τῶν ἡρχ’ Ἀσκάλαφου καὶ Ἰάλιδμου ἡῖες Ἀρη,  
 Οὐς τίκειν Ἀεγύχην, δόμων Ἀκτῶος Ἀξίδαο,  
 Παρθένου Αἰδοίης, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβάσας,  
 Ἀρηὶ κακῆς ἑρῶν ὁ δὲ οὐ παρελίξατο ΛΑΘΡΗ. 1λ. β. ψ. 512.  
<sup>b</sup> *Æn.* l. vii. ψ. 659.      *Antiq. Jud.* l. xviii. c. 3.

— Opto

*Jupiter ut sit, ait : Metuo tamen omnia.* MULTI  
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PU-  
DICOS <sup>d</sup>.

2. Another Cause was the Ambition of this pretended *Offspring* themselves, in order to support their Authority amongst their barbarous Followers or Subjects. Thus we are told the two *Amazon* Queens, *Marthesia* and *Lampeto*, gave out that they were the Daughters of *Mars* — *ne successibus deesset auctoritas* (says the Historian) *genitas se MARTE prædicabant* <sup>e</sup>. And thus *Romulus* and *Remus* pretended to the same Relation; but this Matter is explained at large in the Discourse on the ancient Legislators <sup>f</sup>.

3. A third Cause was the Flattery of Sycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this Practice *Tlepolemus* alludes in his Address to *Sarpedon*:

“ Know thy vain self, nor let their Flatt’ry move,  
“ Who style thee Son of Cloud-compelling *Jove*.  
“ How far unlike those Chiefs of Race divine !  
“ How vast the Difference of their Deeds and thine !  
Mr. POPE.

4. The last Cause was a mere Figure of Speech in the Eastern Phraseology : which, to express the Qualities of the Person spoken of, called a great Warrior the Son of *Mars*; a beautiful Woman, the Daughter of *Venus*; and a good Physician, the Offspring of *Æsculapius*. Thus *Homer*,

<sup>d</sup> *Metam.* l. iii. fab. 3.      <sup>e</sup> *Justin. Hist.* l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>f</sup> *Div. Leg.* vol. i. l. 2. sect. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Ψευδοῦντοι δὲ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνου αἰγιόχοιο  
εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδόξαι ἀνδρῶν  
Οἱ Διὸς ἐξέγοντο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Il.* i. γ. 635.

“ In thirty Sail the sparkling Waves divide,  
 “ Which *Podalirius* and *Machaon* guide.  
 “ To these his Skill *their Parent-God* imparts,  
 “ Divine Professors of the healing Arts<sup>h</sup>.

MR. POPE.

And that the Poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their Profession, appears from his giving to all the *Egyptians* the same Original, where speaking of their superior Eminence in the Art of Physic :

“ These Drugs, so friendly to the Joys of Life,  
 “ Bright *Helen* learn'd from *Thone's* imperial Wife;  
 “ Who sway'd the Sceptre, where prolific *Nile*  
 “ With various Simples cloaths the fat'ned Soil—  
 “ From *Pæon* sprung, their Patron God imparts  
 “ To all the *Pharian* Race his healing Arts<sup>i</sup>.

MR. FENTON.

Thus have I endeavoured to discover, and lay open, the true Causes of all that heap of Confusion which goes under the Name of the *History of the Heroic Ages*. Those false Facts therefore, and the mistaken Conclusions drawn from them, by Sir *Isaac*, to support the *Identity* of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*, being detected; general Tradition, which vouches for their real *Diversity*, is reinstated in its Credit. Whose Testimony likewise, as we went along, we neglected not occasionally to support by several corroborating Circumstances.

I might indeed have taken a very different Rout, through this Land of Fables, to the Confutation of his Hypothesis; by opposing *Adventure* to

<sup>h</sup>—Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγήσθη Ἀσκληπιὺς δύο παῖδες,  
 Ἰητὴρ ἀγαθὸς, Ποδαλείριος ἡδὲ Μαχάων  
 τοῖς δ' ἐτείχοντο γλαφυροὶ νείεσι χιρῶνι. *Ιλ. β. γ. 731.*

<sup>i</sup>—Ἰητὴρ δ' ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος ὡς αἰώνιον  
 Ἀνθρώπων ἢ γὰρ Παιχόνος εἰσι γενέθλης. *Οδ. δ. γ. 231.*

*Adven-*

*Adventure*, and *Genealogy* to *Genealogy*; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a System of Chronology very different from our illustrious Authors. But all perhaps the Reader had got, by a Dispute so managed, would have been only a Right to old *Demipho's* Complaint, *Fecistis probe: Incertior sum multo quam dudum*. I have attempted, therefore, to find a Way of greater Certainty; in an Explanation of the general *Principles* and *Practices* of ancient Superstition: of which, their *Mythologic History* was the Fruits. By which Explanation it appears that all those Facts, on which Sir *Isaac* founds his Proof, were certainly false. So that if I have explained those *Principles* and *Practices* aright, the Method is decisive: and the pretended *Identity*, which is countenanced only by the Confusion occasioned by those *Principles* and *Practices*, is entirely unmasked.

### III.

But although I could have given no reasonable Account of those mistaken Facts, from which Sir *Isaac* infers the *Identity*; I was still able to prove the Falseness of that *Identity*, from the *Consequences* necessarily following its Supposition. Not only from those which our great Author would not venture to admit, but from those which he would. Now both these, we say, directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE of THINGS. So that as before we proved the Error of his Conclusion from the Falseness of his Premises: we now begin at the other End, and shall prove the Falseness of his Premises from the Error of his Conclusion.

I. I have, in the *third* and *fourth* Sections of this Book, shewn at large, from sacred Scripture, illustrated and confirmed by prophane Antiquity, that *Egypt* was a polite and powerful Empire at  
the

the *Egression* of the *Israelites*; This is alone sufficient to overthrow Sir *Isaac Newton's* whole System. But to make it still more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though short View of the necessary Consequences that follow the supposed *Identity* of *Osiris* and *Sesostris*. These may be divided into two Parts; such, as this great Author has ventured to own; and such, as for their apparent Falseness, he was obliged to pass over in Silence.

I begin with the latter. Those very Histories on which Sir *Isaac* builds his *Identity*, tell us, that *Osiris* invented the Culture of the Vine<sup>k</sup>; and abolished the Custom his savage Subjects had of eating one another<sup>l</sup>: that his Wife and Sister *Isis* taught them to sow Corn<sup>m</sup>; and gave them their first System of Laws<sup>n</sup>: That they were both the professed Patrons of *Nascent Arts*; and that all the Instruments of Husbandry were found out in their Time. But if *Osiris* were Sir *Isaac's Sesostris* all these fine Discoveries were made but two Generations before the *Trojan War*, and full five hundred Years after the *Exodus*, and then — what are we to think of the Bible? But the gross Absurdity of these Things hindered Sir *Isaac* from receiving them into the Consequences of his new System: yet they being derived from the same Authority with the

<sup>k</sup> 'Ευρίην δ' αὐτὴν γενέσθαι φασὶ τ' ἀμπέλαι περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἔργασίαν τῆς ταύτης καρπὸν προσεπινοήσαντο, πρῶτον οἰνω χρησάσθαι καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε φυλίσαι τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῆς οἴνου, καὶ τὴν συσκευασίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς χειρὸς. *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 10.*

<sup>l</sup> Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παύσαι τὴν ἀλλοφροσύνην τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων γένος. *Id. pag. 9.*

<sup>m</sup> Ἐνέσθης μὲν Ἰσιδὸν πῶς τε τῆς πυρὸς καὶ τῆς κερατῆς καρπὸν, (οὐδὲ μὲν μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν καὶ τὸ χόρτον μὲν τῆς ἄλλης βολάνης, ἀγνούμενον ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τῆς ἀνθρώπων) καὶ τὸ Ὀσίερον ἐπινοήσαντες καὶ τὰς κατεργασίας τῶν καρπῶν. *Id. ib.*

<sup>n</sup> Θᾶψαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἰσιν, καθ' ὃς ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα βίας καὶ ὑβρεως παύσαντας, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φέρειν. *Id. ib.*

Conse-



Consequences he has received, the great Author was obliged to pass them over in Silence. But though he has done so, we must not: But without Scruple insist upon it that he has here transgressed the just Rules of *Conclusion*, which required of him one or other of these three Things; either to receive the Consequences he has rejected, or to reject those he has received; or lastly, to shew that they stand upon *different* Authority. But he has done none of this, he has picked and chosen as he liked best; and left, what he rejected, without Notice. *Diodorus* says, that *Osiris* abolished the Custom of human Sacrifices; that he built the City of *Thebes*; that he regulated the Worship of the Gods, and conquered many Nations. These Things Sir *Isaac*, who takes *Osiris* for *Sesostris*, admits. The same Historian says, that this *Osiris* first cultivated the Vine; restrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the Arts of Life; that his Wife *Isis* invented Agriculture, and gave the first Laws to the *Egyptians*; and this he rejects. Though if one Part of the *Sicilian's* Account be of better Authority than the other, it is that which says *Isis invented Agriculture*. For he expressly tells us, that this was found written on a large Column, in Hieroglyphic Characters, half consumed with Age, then standing in the City of *Nysa* in *Arabia*°. Hence we conclude that this latter Part is an unavoidable Consequence of Sir *Isaac's* Conclusion: and as the Facts of this Part are false, it will follow that the Premises, from whence his Conclusion is deduced, are so, likewise.

2. We come next to the Consequences the great Author has thought fit to espouse: Some of which

° 'Εγώ ἴσως εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας — 'Εγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίεω βασιλέως. 'Εγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθρώποις ἐνεῦσα. *Id.* p. 16.

are these, that *Instruments of War, Horses for military Service, Animal Food, the exact Distribution of Property, alphabetic Letters, and the well peopling of Egypt*, were all the Product of the Age of his *Sesostris*.

1. *Vulcan*, he says, who lived even to the Times of the *Trojan War*, invented Armour, and was, on that Account, deified by the *Egyptians*. His Words are these, *He [Vulcan] reigned there [in Cyprus and Byblus] till a very great Age, living to the Times of the Trojan War, and becoming exceeding rich* <sup>P</sup>: — *And for assisting the Egyptians with Armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his Friends the Egyptians, by the Name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a King, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an Inventor of Arts, and found out Copper in Cyprus, and the Smith's Hammer, and Anvil, and Tongs and Laver; and employed Workmen in making Armour, and other Things of Brass and Iron, and was the only King celebrated in History for working in Metals, and was King of Lemnos, and the Husband of Venus; all which are the Characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the Time of the Death of Cinyras, viz. in the Reign of their King Amenophis, built a very sumptuous Temple at Memphis to Vulcan* <sup>Q</sup>. — Here we have a Hero, living till the Time of the *Trojan War*, not only the Inventor of Arms, but likewise of those very Tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's Meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the *Egyptians* fighting with Clubs in the Time of *Sesostris* <sup>R</sup>: which, certainly, was for want of better Arms; and still plainer, from what he tells of *Vulcan's* being made a God; which, certainly, was for a new Invention. If I should now shew,

<sup>P</sup> Pag. 223.

<sup>Q</sup> Pag. 224, 225.

<sup>R</sup> Pag. 215.

by

by a formal Enumeration of Particulars, how this contradicts the whole *Bible*, the Reader would surely think I was disposed to trifle with him. Instead of this, I shall but just observe, that it can as ill be reconciled to *Homer*: Who seems, indeed, to make *Vulcan* the Inventor of *Arms*; but, at the same Time, makes both him, and his Invention, the Product of a much earlier Age. By his Poem of the *Trojan War*, it appears that Military Weapons had been then long in Use: and *Vulcan*, and his Wife *Venus*, Deities of old standing. Nor can it be objected that the Poet has given us the Image of his own Times. He was a more exact Observer of *Decorum*; as appears, amongst others, in a celebrated Instance taken Notice of by the Critics, that though in his Days Cavalry was in Use, yet he brings none to the Siege of *Troy*, because at that Time unknown. Nor can his Ignorance be more fairly objected than his Want of Care. For he had the Songs and Poems of his Predecessors to consult; in which he found all the Particulars of that famous Expedition\*. Now, if

\* That *Homer* collected his Materials from the old Songs and Poems of his Ancestors, I conclude from this remarkable Circumstance: In those Things wherein he might be instructed by human Records, we find him calling upon the *Muses* for Information: But when he relates what happened amongst the Gods, which he could only learn by Inspiration, he goes boldly into his Story without any *Invocation* at all. Thus when he speaks of the Squabbles between *Jupiter*, and his Wife *Juno*, he tells them with as little Preparation as if they had been his next Neighbours. But when he is about to give a Catalogue of the *Grecian Forces* that came to the Siege of *Troy*, the likeliest of all Subjects, to be found in the old Poems of his Ancestors, he invokes the *Muses* in the most solemn and pompous Manner; Which therefore, I understand as only a more poetic Intimation that he took his Account from *Authentic Records*, and not from *uncertain Tradition*. An Intimation, that would give Authority to all that followed. And these old Poems being, in his Time, held sacred, and written by a kind of Inspiration, an *Invocation* to them, under the Name of the Goddesses, who were sup-

are these, that *Instruments of War*, *Horses for military Service*, *Animal Food*, the *exact Distribution of Property*, *alphabetic Letters*, and the *well peopling of Egypt*, were all the *Product of the Age of his Sesostris*.

1. *Vulcan*, he says, who lived even to the *Times of the Trojan War*, invented *Armour*, and was, on that Account, deified by the *Egyptians*. His Words are these, *He [Vulcan] reigned there [in Cyprus and Byblus] till a very great Age, living to the Times of the Trojan War, and becoming exceeding rich*<sup>p</sup>: — *And for assisting the Egyptians with Armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his Friends the Egyptians, by the Name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a King, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an Inventor of Arts, and found out Copper in Cyprus, and the Smith's Hammer, and Anvil, and Tongs and Laver; and employed Workmen in making Armour, and other Things of Brass and Iron, and was the only King celebrated in History for working in Metals, and was King of Lemnos, and the Husband of Venus; all which are the Characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the Time of the Death of Cinyras, viz. in the Reign of their King Amenophis, built a very sumptuous Temple at Memphis to Vulcan*<sup>q</sup>. — Here we have a Hero, living till the Time of the *Trojan War*, not only the Inventor of Arms, but likewise of those very Tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's Meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the *Egyptians* fighting with Clubs in the Time of *Sesostris*<sup>r</sup>: which, certainly, was for want of better Arms; and still plainer, from what he tells of *Vulcan's* being made a *God*; which, certainly, was for a new Invention. If I should now shew,

<sup>p</sup> Pag. 223.

<sup>q</sup> Pag. 224, 225.

<sup>r</sup> Pag. 215.

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by a formal Enumeration of Particulars, how this contradicts the whole *Bible*, the Reader would surely think I was disposed to trifle with him. Instead of this, I shall but just observe, that it can as ill be reconciled to *Homer*: Who seems, indeed, to make *Vulcan* the Inventor of *Arms*; but, at the same Time, makes both him, and his Invention, the Product of a much earlier Age. By his Poem of the *Trojan War*, it appears that Military Weapons had been then long in Use: and *Vulcan*, and his Wife *Venus*, Deities of old standing. Nor can it be objected that the Poet has given us the Image of his own Times. He was a more exact Observer of *Decorum*; as appears, amongst others, in a celebrated Instance taken Notice of by the Critics, that though in his Days Cavalry was in Use, yet he brings none to the Siege of *Troy*, because at that Time unknown. Nor can his Ignorance be more fairly objected than his Want of Care. For he had the Songs and Poems of his Predecessors to consult; in which he found all the Particulars of that famous Expedition\*. Now, if

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Military Weapons, at the Time of the *Trojan War*, had been in long Use amongst the *Greeks*, it is impossible they should have been (as *Sir Isaac Newton* supposes) but *just invented in Egypt*.

posed to have dictated them, was an extreme natural and easy Figure.

Ἐσπεῖτε νῦν μοι, Μῦσαι, δόρυμπ' ἀδάμαστος ἔχουσαι·  
 Ἴμῃς γὰρ θεαὶ ἔστε, πάρεστε τε, ἔστε τε πάντες,  
 ἡμῇς δ' ἐκείνοισιν ἀκούομεν, ὅδ' ἐτι ἰδόμεν·  
 Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες — Ἰλ. β. ψ. 484.

“ Say, Virgins, seated round the Throne divine,  
 “ All-knowing Goddesses! immortal nine!  
 “ Since Earth's wide Regions, Heav'n's unmeasur'd Height,  
 “ And Hell's Abyss hide nothing from your Sight,  
 “ We wretched Mortals lost in doubt below,  
 “ But guess by Rumour, and but boast we know,  
 “ Oh, say what Heroes — Mr. POPE.

Which, put into a plain Dress, is no more than this Intimation to the Reader, *As the old Records of the Poets have preserved a very circumstantial Account of the Forces warring before Troy, I will rather fetch my Account from thence than from uncertain and confused Tradition.*

This Observation will likewise help to explain another as remarkable Circumstance in *Homer*: And that is his so frequently telling us, as he is describing Persons or Things, that they bore one Name amongst the *Gods*, and another amongst *Mortals*: which now we may collect, means no more than that, in those *old Poems*, they were called differently from the Names they went by in the Time of *Homer*. Thus speaking of *Titan* he says,

ᾧ Ωχ' Ἐκατόγχεσσι καλίσσας ἰς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν,  
 Ὀν Βραχίονα καλίσσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ τε πάντες  
 Ἀργαίων. — Ἰλ. α. ψ. 402.

“ Then called by thee, the Monster *Titan* came,  
 “ Whom *Gods Briareus*, *Men Ægeon* name. Mr. POPE.

So again,

Ἔστι δ' ὅ τις περπαράσθι πύλῃσι αἰπεῖα κολώνη,  
 Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνοθε, περιδερμῷ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·  
 Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες βαλίσαν κικλήσκουσιν,  
 Ἀθάνατοι δὲ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρησιν Μυρρίνης. Ἰλ. β. ψ. 811.

2. Our

2. Our great Author makes *Sesoftris's* Conquest of *Libya* the Occasion of furnishing *Egypt* with Horses. *After the Conquest of Libya* (says he) *by which Egypt was furnished with Horses, and furnished Solomon and his Friends, he prepared a Fleet, &c.* The illustrious Writer is here speaking of the Original of those civil Advantages, for which ancient *Egypt* was so much celebrated. He had before and afterwards told us his Thoughts of their *Astronomy, Navigation, Letters, Names, and Weapons of War*. We cannot, therefore, avoid Understand-

“ Amidst the Plain in Sight of *Ilion* stands  
 “ A rising Mount, the Work of human Hands,  
 “ This for *Myrinne's* Tomb th' Immortals know,  
 “ Tho' call'd *Bateia* in the World below. Mr. POPE.

And again,

“ *Ἀντα δ' ἄρ' Ἡφαίστιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,*  
 “ *Ὅν Ἐάνθοι καλῶσι θοοὶ, ἄνδρες ᾧ Σκάμανδρον.* *Il. v. γ. 73.*

“ With fiery *Vulcan* last in Battle stands  
 “ The sacred Flood that rolls on golden Sands;  
 “ *Xanthus* his Name with those of Heav'nly Birth,  
 “ But call'd *Scamander* by the Sons of Earth. Mr. POPE.

The old Names are called by *Homer*, the Names used by the Immortals, on these three Accounts: 1. As they were those employed in the old sacred Poems. 2. As they were the Names in Use in the first Heroic Ages. And 3. as they were of barbarous and Egyptian Original, from whence came the Mythologic History of the Gods. But supposing them not to be taken by *Homer* from these old Poems, no reasonable Account can be given for his so particular Information of this Circumstance. Supposing they were, the Reason is evident. It was to remind the Reader, from Time to Time, that he kept their old venerable Records still in his Eye, which would give Weight and Authority to what he delivered. Two Lines of the pretended Chaldaic Oracles, collected by *Patricius*, well explain this Matter, and shew the great Reverence of the Ancients for the Religion of Names:

“ *Ὀνόματα βάλεσθε μή ποτ' ἀλλάξετε,*  
 “ *Ἐὶσι γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἐκείνοις θεόδοτα.*

Never change barbarous Names; for every Nation hath Names which it received from God.

† Pag. 215.

S 3 ing

ing what he here says, of the *Libyan Horses*, to mean, that the Conquest of that Country was the first Occasion of *Egypt's abounding* in Horse. But this directly contradicts *Holy Scripture*, which assures us they abounded in them long before. Their Pursuit of the *Israelites* is thus described, *And Pharaoh made ready his Chariot, and took his People with him. And he took six hundred chosen Chariots, and all the Chariots of Egypt, and Captains over every one of them. — The Egyptians pursued after them (all the Horses and Chariots of Pharaoh and his Horsemen and his Army.) — And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the Sea, even all Pharaoh's Horses, his Chariots and his Horsemen*<sup>u</sup>. Sir Isaac seems to have been aware of this Evidence against him, and endeavours to turn it on the Side of his Hypothesis. *In the Days of Moses* (says he) *all the Chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued Israel, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. Exod. xiv. 7<sup>w</sup>.* This is a strange Mistake. The *six hundred*, mentioned in the Place quoted, are expressly said to be the *chosen Chariots*, that is the King's Guard, or a standing Militia; for that over and above these, *all the Chariots of Egypt*, an indefinite Number, went on the Pursuit. Besides, the Number of *Horses* is not to be estimated from the *Chariots*, because there was an Army of *Horsemen* likewise on this Expedition.

However, according to Sir Isaac's own Confession it appears, that *Egypt abounded* with *Horse* earlier than the Time he here assigns. For the vast Number of *Philistim Horse* brought into the Field, in the second Year of the Reign of *Saul*, in an Army consisting of thirty thousand Chariots and six thousand Horsemen, came all, in our Author's Opinion, from *Egypt*. *The Canaanites* (says he) *had their*

<sup>u</sup> Exod. xiv. 7. 6, 7-9-23.      <sup>w</sup> P. 167.

*Horses*



*Horses from Egypt; and — from the great Army of the Philistims against Saul, and the great Number of their Horses I seem to gather that the Shepherds had newly relinquished Egypt, and joined them<sup>x</sup>. —* Now if they had such plenty of Horse in the Time of *Saul*, how was it that they were furnished from *Libya* in the Time of *Sesac*?

But another Circumstance, in sacred History, will shew us, that *Egypt*, which supplied *Canaan*, abounded in Horse still much earlier. In the Law of *Moses*, we find this Prohibition, personally directed to their future King: *He shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the People to return to Egypt, to the End that he should multiply Horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that Way<sup>y</sup>*. Now the Reason, here given, being to prevent all Commerce with *Egypt*, we must conclude, if it appear that *Egypt*, at this Time, supplied other Nations with Horses, that the Law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did supply other Nations. For we find the confederate *Canaanites* (who, by Sir *Isaac's* Confession, had their Horses from *Egypt*) warring against *Joshua*, *they and all their Hosts with them, much People, even as the Sand that is upon the Sea Shore in Multitude, with Horses and Chariots very many<sup>z</sup>*. The Law therefore did respect the Judges. And this Reasoning is confirmed by *Fact*. For *Joshua*, when he had defeated these confederate Hosts, *bought their Horses and burnt their Chariots with Fire<sup>a</sup>*, according to the Commandment of the Lord. Observing the Law in the same rigorous Manner, it was observed by their Kings to whom it was personally addressed. For thus *Abab* destroyed the Horses and Chariots of *Benbadad<sup>b</sup>*. I now there-

<sup>x</sup> Pag. 167.    <sup>y</sup> DEUT. xvii. §. 16.    <sup>z</sup> Jos. xi. §. 4.

<sup>a</sup> §. 9.    <sup>b</sup> 1 KINGS xx. §. 21.

fore conclude the other Way from *this Law*, that the Traffic with *Egypt* for Horses was very common in the Times of *Moses* and *Joshua*. Consequently *Egypt* was not first furnished with Horses from *Libya* in the Time of *Sir Isaac's Sesostris*.

But it may add Strength to this Reasoning, as well as Light to the Law itself, if we inquire more particularly into the Reasons of it, which we shall find so weighty and various as loudly to proclaim the Divinity of its Author.

I. The first Reason (which was expressly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. *He* [the King] says the Law, *shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the People to return to Egypt, to the End that he should multiply Horses; forasmuch as the Lord had said unto you, ye shall henceforth return no more that Way.* i. e. He shall not establish a Body of Cavalry, because it cannot be effected without sending his People into *Egypt*, which is the only Place that can furnish him with Horses. But the Lord hath expressly declared the *Israelites* shall have no Commerce with that People. — Nothing certainly could be wiser than this Provision. For how dangerous to pure Religion, all Intercourse with *Egypt* was, I need not tell the learned Reader; nor indeed any other, after he has read the following *Section*.

When *Solomon* had violated this Law, and multiplied Horses to such Excess that we are told, he had *forty thousand Stalls of Horses for his Chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen*<sup>c</sup>, it was soon attended with those fatal Consequences the Law had foretold. For this wisest of Kings having likewise, contrary to another Law of *Moses*, married *Pharaoh's* Daughter<sup>d</sup>, the early Fruits of his Commerce; and then, by a Repetition of the same Crime, but Trans-

<sup>c</sup> 1 KINGS IV. § 26.

<sup>d</sup> 2 KINGS III. § 1.

gression

gression of another Law, more strange Women<sup>e</sup>; they first, in Violation of a fourth Law, brought him to build them Idol Temples for *their* Worship; and afterwards, against a fifth, still more fundamental, to erect other Temples for his own<sup>f</sup>. The Original of all this Mischief was the forbidden Traffic with Egypt for Horses. For thither, we are told, the Agents of Solomon went to mount his Cavalry. — And Solomon gathered Chariots and Horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred Chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen, which he placed in the Chariot-Cities, and with the King at Jerusalem — And he had Horses brought out of Egypt, and linen Yarn: the King's Merchants received the linen Yarn at a Price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a Chariot for six hundred Shekels of Silver, and an Horse for an hundred and fifty<sup>g</sup>. Nay, this great King even turned Factor for the neighbouring Monarchs. — And so brought they out Horses for all the Kings of the Hittites, and for the Kings of Syria by their Means<sup>h</sup>. This opprobrious Commerce was kept up by his Successors: and attended with the same fatal Consequences. *Isaiab*, with his usual Majesty denounces the Mischiefs of this Traffic: and foretells, that the good Effects of leaving it would be the forsaking their Idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on Horses and trust in Chariots, because they are many; and in Horsemen, because they are very strong: but they look not unto the holy one of Israel, neither seek the Lord. — For thus hath the Lord spoken unto me: Like as the Lion, and the young Lion, roaring on his Prey, when a multitude of Shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their Voice, nor abase himself for the Noise of them: So*

<sup>e</sup> 1 KINGS xi. y. 1.      <sup>f</sup> 1 KINGS xi. y. 7, 8.

<sup>g</sup> 2 CHRON. i. y. 16, 17.      <sup>h</sup> y. 17.

*shall*

*shall the Lord of Hosts come down to fight for Mount Zion, and for the Hill thereof — Turn ye unto him from whom the Children of Israel have deeply revolted. For in that Day every Man shall cast away his Idols of Silver, and his Idols of Gold, which your own Hands have made unto you for a Sin<sup>1</sup>.*

2. The second Reason against *multiplying Horses* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The *Israelites*, separated by God, for his peculiar People, under his Government as King, must needs be designed to possess one particular Country. Accordingly the Land of *Canaan*, the Habitation of the seven Nations, was marked out for their proper Inheritance. Within these Limits they were to be confined: it being foreign to the Nature of their Institution to make Conquests, or to extend their Dominion. But the Expulsion of the *seven Nations* being, as we shall see presently, to be effected by the extraordinary Assistance of their King, their Successes must, of course, be sudden and rapid. But nothing is so impatient of Bounds as a People flusht with easy Victories. The Projects of such are always going on from Conquest to Conquest. Now to defeat this so natural Disposition in a Nation not designed for Empire, a Law is given against *multiplying Horses*: than which nothing can be conceived more effectual. — The Country, where they were confined, was rocky and mountainous: which, therefore, in the first Place, was *unfit* for the Breed and Sustainment of *Horse*. *Telemachus*, in *Homer*, is commended for giving this Reason for his refusing the Horses of *Menelaus*:

*Haud male Telemachus proles patientis Ulixei;  
Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis  
Porrectus spatii nec multæ prodigus herba.*

HOR.

<sup>1</sup> Is. xxxi. 7. 1, 4, 6, 7.

But

But principally, when they had once got Possession of this Country, they had *little need* of Horse to preserve their Conquest: as all skilled in the Art of War very well understand. The *Israelites* therefore, had they been either wise, or pious, would have soon found that their true Strength, as well *political* as *religious*, lay in *Infantry*. As that of *Egypt*, for a contrary Reason, was in *Cavalry*. Hence that People, who well understood their Advantages, so industriously propagated the Breed of Horse, as the surest Defence of their Territories. There is a remarkable Passage, in the History of these Times, to support what I here advance. When *Benbadad*, the Gentile King of *Syria*, whose Forces consisted of *Chariots* and *Horsemen*, had warred, with ill Success, against the King of *Israel*, his Ministers, in a Council of War, deliver their Advice to him in these Terms: *And the Servants of the King of Syria said unto him, Their Gods are Gods of the Hills, therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the Plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they.* — *And he hearkened unto their Voice and did so*<sup>k</sup>. From this Passage I collect 1. That the Army of *Israel*, being all *Infantry*, had chosen the Situation of the *Hills*: And this with proper military Skill. 2. That their constant Success, in such a Disposition of their Forces, occasioned this Advice of the Ministers of *Benbadad*. These Men, possessed with the general Notion of of *local tutelary Deities*, finding the Arms of *Israel* always successful on the *Hills*, took it for the more eminent Manifestation of the Power of their Gods. *Their Gods*, say they, *are Gods of the Hills*. Their *Superstition* dictated the first Part of their Opinion; and their *Skill in War*, the second, *let us fight against them in the Plain*. Their Conduct had been hi-

<sup>k</sup> : KINGS xx. v. 23, & seq.

therto

therto most absurd. They had attacked an Army of *Infantry*, with one only of *Cavalry*, on *Hills* and in *Defiles*.

But this Want of Horse, (which species of military Force neither the Product of their Country could well support, nor the Defence of it need) would effectually prevent any Attempt of extending their Dominions, either into the *lesser Asia*, *Mesopotamia*, or *Egypt*. All which surrounding Countries stretching out into large and extended Plains, could not be safely invaded or entered upon without a numerous *Cavalry*. In this View, therefore, the Wisdom of the Law can never be sufficiently admired.

3. But the third Reason I shall be bold, (after a great Writer) to assign for it was, that it might be a standing MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the *Israelites* were conducted into the Land of *Canaan*. I have shewn that, when once settled in Possession, they might well defend themselves in it, without the Help of *Cavalry*. But to conquer it without that Help, and from a warlike People, abounding in *Cavalry*, and in Cities *walled up to Heaven*, was more than a raw unpractised *Infantry* could ever have performed alone. I am sure I need say no more to convince Military Men of the extreme Difference of the two Cases. But lest I should be thought by others to be guilty of Tergiversation, I will endeavour to shew this Difference. 1. First then, in the Defence of a Country, the *Invaded* can chuse their Ground; and as it is their Interest to avoid coming to a decisive Action, so being amidst their own native Stores and Provisions, they have it in their Power. On the contrary, the *Invader* must attack his Foes where he finds them posted. For, by Reason of the Scantiness and Uncertainty  
of

of Supplies in an Enemies Country, he has not, for the most Part, Time to draw them, by military Stratagems, from their Advantages. We find this very Case exemplified in the History of *Benbadad*, mentioned above. He had invaded *Israel*; but that People disposing of their *Infantry* with soldierly Address, he was forced to fight them on the *Hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unsuccessful Engagements, his Ministers proposed a new Plan for the Operation of his Arms, *to attack the Enemy in the Plains*. And truly the Advice was good. But how to put it in Execution was the Question. For they being the Assailants, the *Israelites* were Masters of their Ground. So that after all, there was no other Way of bringing them into the *Plains* but by beating them from the *Hills*. And there they must have stuck, till Famine and Desertion had ended the Quarrel. In this Exigence, their Blasphemy of the *God of Israel* enabled them to put their Counsels, against him, in Execution. They fancied, according to the Superstition of that Time, and so gave out, that *he was God of the Hills but not of the Valleys*. His Omnipotence being thus disputed, he placed his People in the *Plains*; and sent his Prophet to predict the coming Vengeance on his Enemies. *And there came a Man of God, and spake unto the King of Israel, and said, thus saith the Lord, Because the Syrians have said, the Lord is God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great Multitude into thine Hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord*<sup>1</sup>.

2. Secondly the Possessors of such a Situation may so dispose their *Cities* and *Fortresses*, with which they cover their Country, as to make an Invader's *Cavalry* absolutely useless in their Attacks: and consequently to have no Occasion for any of their

<sup>1</sup> 1 KINGS XX. y. 28.

own. But the Invaders of a mountainous Country, where *Cavalry* is in Use, and consequently the Defences disposed in a contrary Manner, so as best to favour such Operation, go to certain Destruction without a Body of *Horse* to support their *Infantry*. This therefore being the very Situation of Affairs when the *Israelites* invaded *Canaan*, and conquered it, for till then they had not begun to transgress the *Law* against *Cavalry*, I conclude that they must have been MIRACULOUSLY assisted. But this Argument has been already seized on, and inforced, by an illustrious Prelate, with such Advantage of Reasoning, and Elegance of Reflexion, that I need say no more upon it till I find our Adversaries hardy enough to attack the Principles of his Discourse<sup>m</sup>, and then they shall hear further from me.

To return, we see how little Reason Sir *Isaac* had for saying that *Sesostris's* Conquest of *Libya* was the Occasion of *Egypt's* being furnished with *Horse*, so as to supply the neighbouring Countries. But the Instance was particularly ill chosen. For this very *Sesostris*, whom he makes the Author of this Benefit to *Egypt*, did, by his filling the Country with Canals, deprive them of all Use and Service of their *Horse*, with which, till this Time, *Egypt* so much abounded; but which, from henceforth, we hear no more of<sup>n</sup>.

3. Again, in Consequence of the same System, our great Author seems to think that Animal Food was not in Use amongst the *Egyptians* till about this

<sup>m</sup> Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c. 4<sup>th</sup> Diss. *Christ's* Entry into *Jerusalem*.

<sup>n</sup> Νοστήσας ὃ ὁ Σίσωσις εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ — τὰς διώρυγας τὰς ἐν τῇ Αἴγυπτῳ, πάσας ἔτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἄρυσον ἐποίησεν τε ἐκ ἐκείνης Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὸν εἶσαν ἰκπασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξισμένην παῖσαι, ἐνδιῶ τέτων. διὰ τὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτος εἶσα παρὰ τῶν ἀντικαὶ ἀναμάξωσι γίγνηται. *Herod. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 108.*

Time.



Time. *The Egyptians (says he) originally lived on the Fruits of the Earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from Animals, and THEREFORE abominated Shepherds: Menes [the third from Sesostris] taught them to adorn their Beds and Tables with rich Furniture and Carpets, and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious and voluptuous Way of Life.* Now whoever brought in the eating *Flesh*, and a *voluptuous Life*, did it, as we are assured from *Scripture*, before the Time of *Joseph*. I have shewn, in my Account of their *Physicians*, as delivered in the *Bible*, that they were, then, a luxurious People<sup>p</sup>. From the Dream of *Pharaoh's Baker*, compared with *Joseph's* Interpretation<sup>q</sup>, it appears, they eat animal Food: And, from the Description of *Joseph's* Entertainment of his Brethern, it appears, that a Difference of Diet, with Regard to such Food, was not the Occasion of the *Egyptian Enmity* to Shepherds. — *And he said to the Ruler of his House, Bring these Men home, and SLAY, and make ready: for these Men shall dine with me at Noon. And the Man did as Joseph bade: and the Man brought the Men into Joseph's House — And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews, for that is an Abomination to the Egyptians. — And he took and sent Messes unto them*

<sup>p</sup> Pag. 241. P See p. 39. and following, of this Volume.

<sup>q</sup> *And the chief Baker said unto Joseph, I also was in my Dream, and behold I had three white Baskets on my Head, and in the uppermost Basket there was of all manner of BAKE-MEATS for Pharaoh, and the Birds did eat them out of the Basket. — And Joseph answered and said — The three Baskets are three Days. Yet within three Days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a Tree; and the Birds shall EAT THY FLESH from off thee. GEN. xl. v. 17. & seq.*

from

from before him<sup>r</sup>. Here, we see the common Provision, for the Entertainment, was *Animal Food*. And no one can doubt whether *Joseph* conformed to the *Egyptian* diet. He sat single out of State, with regard to the *Egyptians*: The *Egyptians* sat apart with regard to the *Shepherds*: and both were supplied from the Governor's Table, which was furnished from the Steward's Slaughter-house. This too further appears from the Murmuring of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness of *Sin*, when they said, *Would to God we had died by the Hand of the Lord in the Land of Egypt, when we sat by the FLESH-POTS, and when we did eat Bread to the full<sup>s</sup>*. Now we can never suppose the *Egyptians* would suffer their Slaves, whom they kept in so hard Oppression, to riot in *Flesh-pots*, if it was, as *Sir Isaac* supposes, that *Animal Food* was an Abomination to them.

4. Again, he supposes that the exact Division of the Land of *Egypt* into Property was first made in the Time of *Sesostris*. *Sesostris* (says he) upon his returning home divided *Egypt* by Measure amongst the *Egyptians*; and this gave a Beginning to surveying and Geometry<sup>t</sup>. And, in another Place, he draws down the Original of Geometry still lower; even as late as *Mæris*, the fifth<sup>u</sup> from *Sesostris*. *Mæris* (says he) — for preserving the Division of *Egypt* into equal Shares amongst the Soldiers — wrote a Book of Surveying which gave a Beginning to Geometry<sup>u</sup>. Let the Reader, now, consider, how possible it is to reconcile this with the following Account of *Joseph's* Administration. And *Joseph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for Pharaoh; for the *Egyptians* sold every Man his Field, because the Famine prevailed over them: so the Land became Pha-

<sup>r</sup> GEN. xliii. §. 16, 17-32-34.

<sup>s</sup> EXOD. xvi. §. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Pag. 218.

<sup>u</sup> Pag. 248.

raoh's.

raoh's. And as for the People, he removed them to Cities from one End of the Borders of Egypt, even to the other End thereof. Only the Land of the Priests bought he not : for the Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them ; therefore they sold not their Lands. Then Joseph said unto the People, Behold I have bought you this Day, and your Land for Pharaoh : lo here is the Seed for you, and ye shall sow the Land. And it shall come to pass, in the Increase, that you shall give the fifth Part unto Pharaoh, and four Parts shall be your own, for Seed of the Field, and for your Food, and for them of your own Households, and for Food for your little ones. And Joseph made it a Law over the Land of Egypt unto this Day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth Part ; except the Land of the Priests only, which became not Pharaoh's<sup>w</sup>.

Here we have the Description of a Country very exactly divided out into private Property. It would afford Room for Variety of Reflexions ; but I shall confine myself to the following. If private Property had not been, at this Time, settled with the utmost Exactness, what Occasion had *Joseph* to recur to that troublesome Expedient of transplanting the People, reciprocally, from one End of *Egypt* to the other ? His Purpose is evident : It was to secure *Pharaoh* in his new Property, by defeating the ill Effects of that Fondness which People naturally have to an old paternal Inheritance. But what Fondness have Men for one Spot rather than another of Lands lying in common ? Were the *Egyptians* at this Time, as *Sir Isaac* seems to suppose, in the State of the unsettled *Nomades*, they would have gone from one End of *Egypt* to the other, without *Joseph's* sending ; and without the least Regret for any thing they had left behind.

<sup>w</sup> GEN. xlvii. 20. & seq.

Further, if private Property had not been well settled, how could that tribute, of a fifth Part, have been exacted from Particulars? as we learn it was from this Law of *Joseph*.

But without weakening the great Man's Conjecture by the *Bible*, how does it appear from this simple Fact of *Sesostris's* dividing the large Champain Country of *Egypt* into square Fields, by cross-cut Canals, that *it was a dividing Egypt by Measure, and giving a Beginning to Surveying and Geometry?* If we examine the Cause and Effect of that Atchievement, we shall find that neither the one nor the other Part of his Conclusion can be deduced from it. The Cause, of making these Canals, was evidently to drain the swampy Marshes of this vast extended Level: and to render the whole Labourable\*. But a Work of that Nature is never projected till a People begin to want Room. And they never want Room till private Property has been well settled; and the Necessities of Life, by the Advancement of civil Arts, are become vastly increased. As to the Effects; Ground, once divided by such Canals, was in no Danger of a Change of Landmarks: and consequently had small Occasion for future Surveys. So that had not this People found out Geometry before this new Division, 'tis probable they had never found it out at all. The most likely Cause, therefore, we can assign for their Invention was the Necessity of frequent Surveys, while the annual Overflowings of the *Nile* perpetually obliterated all such

\* Indeed *Diodorus* supposes the principal Reason was to cover and secure the flat Country from hostile Incursions — πὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυσίμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, p. 36. But sure the Historian has hit upon a very unlikely Time for such a Piece of Providence. The return of *Sesostris* from the Conquest of the habitable World would hardly have been attended with Apprehensions of a very speedy Invasion. Land-

Land-marks as were not, like those cross-cut Canals, wrought deep into the Soil. But these put a total End to that Necessity. Indeed *Herodotus* seems to give it as his Opinion that Geometry took its Beginning from this Improvement of *Sesoftris*<sup>γ</sup>. But we are to remember what has been said of the incredible Antiquity the ancient *Greek* Writers, and particularly *Aristotle*<sup>z</sup>, assigned to this Hero: the natural Consequence of the *Egyptians* having confounded the *Ages* and *Actions*, though never the *Persons*, of *Osiris* and *Sesoftris*.

5. The next Inference this great Writer makes from his System is, that *Letters* were unknown in *Egypt* till the Time of *David*. — *When the Edomites* (says he) *fled from David with their young King Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the Use of Letters: For Letters were then in Use amongst the Posterity of Abraham — and there is no Instance of Letters, for writing down Sounds, being in Use before the Days of David in any other Nation besides the Posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this Invention to Thoth the Secretary of Osiris; and therefore Letters began to be in Use in Egypt in the Days of Thoth, that is, a little after the Flight of the Edomites from David, or about the Time that Cadmus brought them into Europe*<sup>a</sup>. For a full Confutation of this Fancy, and of the Arguments that support it, I am content to refer the Reader, to what I have occasionally observed, tho' to other Purposes, in my Discourse of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*<sup>b</sup>.

6. Lastly, he says, that *Egypt was so thinly peopled before the Birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites, “ Behold the People of the Children of*

<sup>γ</sup> Δοκίμοι δὲ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γενημένη ἐνθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαγαθῆν. *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 109. <sup>z</sup> See pag. 222.

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 209. <sup>b</sup> See pag. 124, & seq. and p. 138, & seq.

“ *Israel are more and mightier than we :*” and *that to prevent their Multiplying, and growing too strong, he caused their Male Children to be drowned*<sup>c</sup>. Yet this Country, *so thinly peopled at Moses’s Birth*, was, as we find, from Scripture, so vastly populous, by that Time he was sent on his *Mission*, that it could keep in Slavery six hundred thousand Men besides Children<sup>d</sup>. At a Time too, when they were most powerfully instigated to recover their Liberty ; which, yet at length, they were unable to effect but by the frequent Desolation brought, by the Hand of God, upon their insolent and cruel Masters. And is this possible to be reconciled with Sir Isaac’s Notion of their preceeding Thinness ? But *he* supports himself on *Scripture* likewise. — *Egypt* was so thinly peopled — *that Pharaoh said — Behold the People of the Children of Israel are more and mightier than we.* — Amazing Interpretation ! The Scripture Relation, of that Matter, is in these Words, *And Pharaoh said unto his People, Behold the People of the Children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them : lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there shall fall out any War, they join also unto our Enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the Land. Therefore they did set over them Task-masters, to afflict them with their Burdens.* — *But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied*<sup>e</sup>. By the whole Turn of this Relation, it appears that the *more and mightier* signify *more prolific and healthy*. And that was in Truth the Case. The *Egyptians*, of this Time, as we have proved<sup>f</sup>, were very luxurious. But the *Manners* of the *Israelites* concurred with their *Condition* to render them healthful by an abstemious and laborious Way of

<sup>c</sup> Pag. 186.    <sup>d</sup> Exod. xii. 37    <sup>e</sup> Exod. i. 9. & seq.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 39, and 44.

Life.

Life. For this Reason the King expresses his Fear. But of what? certainly not that they should subdue their Masters; but that they should escape out of Servitude: which, even to the very Time of their Egression, was the sole Object of the *Egyptian* Fear. — *Lest* (says he) *they multiply; and it come to pass that when there falleth out any War they join also unto our Enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the Land.* This was a reasonable Apprehension: for they were in every Age subject to the Incursions of a fierce and barbarous People, the *Arabians*, on that very Side which the *Israelites* inhabited. Who, possessing that District unmixed with *Egyptians*, had the Keys of the Country in their own Hands, to admit or exclude an Invader at Pleasure. A Circumstance that would make the smallest Province formidable to the most powerful Kingdom. To prevent then so probable a Danger their Task-masters are ordered to increase their Oppressions: and they groan under them without Resistance; till set free by the powerful Hand of GOD.

Thus we see how this System stands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. But what is still worse, it is not only repugnant to the *Bible*, but even TO ITSELF.

II. We have observed, that, by the casual Confounding the distinct Actions of *Osiris* and *Sesostris* with one another, each came to be, at the same Time, the *Inventor* and *Perfector* of the Arts of Life. This, which might have led the great Author to the Discovery of the ancient Error in their History, served only to confirm him in his own, as placing the *Invention of civil Arts* low enough for the Support of his general Chronology. However it is very certain, that the making their *Invention* and *Perfection* the Product of the same Age,

is directly contradicting the very *Nature of Things*. Which if any one can doubt, let him examine the general History of Mankind; where he will see that the Advances, from an emerging Barbarity, through civil Policy, to refined Arts and polished Manners, have been ever the slow and gradual Progress of many and successive Ages. Yet these, our illustrious Author, in Consequence of the Identity of his two Heroes, makes to spring up, to flourish, and come to their Perfection, all within the Compass of one single Reign. Or rather, what is still more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary Age of *Sesostris* to be distinguished from all others by an *inseparable Mixture* of *Savage* and *Polished* Manners. Which is so unnatural, so incredible, so impossible a Circumstance, that were there only *this* to oppose against his System, it would be a sufficient Demonstration of its Falseness.

To shew then that our great Author, by fairly and honestly taking in these Consequences of his System, has subjected it to this Disgrace, I shall give two Instances. The one taken from his Account of the *State of War* during this Period; the other from his Account of the *State of Architecture*.

1. Our Author, having made the *Egyptian Hercules*, to be *Sesostris*, is forced to own that the War in *Libya* was carried on with *Clubs*. *After these Things, he [Hercules or Sesostris] invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with Clubs, and thence is painted with a Club in his Hand.* Here the great Writer gives us the very Picture of the *Iroquoian* or *Huron* Savages warring with a neighbouring Tribe. And without doubt intended it for such; as appears, *first*, from his immediately subjoining the following Words of *Hyginus*: *Afri & Ægyptii PRIMUM fustibus dimicaverunt, postea Belus Neptuni filius*



*filius gladio belligeratus est, unde bellum dictum est* <sup>g</sup>. (Where we are to observe that the Title of the Chapter, in which these Words of *Hyginus* are found, is *Quis quid invenerit* <sup>h</sup>.) And *secondly* from his making *Vulcan*, whom he supposed to have lived at this Time, the *Inventor* of Military Weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after *Sesostris's* Conquest of the *Troglodytes* and *Ethiopians*; was after his Father's Building a Fleet on the *Red Sea*; with which he coasted *Arabia Felix*, went into the *Persian Gulph*, and penetrated even into *India* <sup>i</sup>: and but a little before *Sesostris's* great Expedition for the Conquest of the habitable World: when we see him set out with the most magnificent Retinue, and Apparatus of War; find him defeat great Armies; subdue great Kingdoms, (such as *Judea*, where all kind of military Arms offensive and defensive had been in Use for many Ages;) people large Cities; and leave behind him magnificent Monuments of his Power and Opulence.

Thus again, Sir *Isaac* tells us, that *Tosorthrus* or *Æsculapius*, an *Egyptian* of the Time of *Sesostris*, found out building with square Stones. — *The building with square Stones* (says he) *being found out by Tosorthrus, the Æsculapius of Egypt* <sup>k</sup>. Yet his Contemporary, *Sesostris*, he tells us, *divided Egypt into 36 Nomes or Countries, and dug a Canal from the Nile, to the head City of every Nome; and with the Earth dug out of it, he caused the Ground of the City to be raised higher, and built a Temple in every City for the Worship of the Nome; &c.* <sup>l</sup>. And soon after, *Amenophis*, the third from him, *built Memphis, and ordered the Worship of the Gods of Egypt, and built a Palace at Abydus, and the Memnonia*

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 215.

<sup>h</sup> F. A. B. cclxxiv.

<sup>i</sup> Pag. 214, 215.

<sup>k</sup> Pag. 247.

<sup>l</sup> Pag. 218.

at This and Sufa, and the magnificent Temple of Vulcan in Memphis <sup>m</sup>.

Here then, in this strange Mixture of Barbarity and Politeness, Strength and Impotence, Riches and Poverty, is such an Inconsistency in the Character of Ages, as makes it only worthy the wild Imagination of those poetic Fabulists from whence it is collected.

And thus, as we suppose, the *Minor* of Sir Isaac Newton's general Argument, that *Osiris and Sesostris were the same*, is intirely overthrown. For 1. It hath been proved, that the Premisses, he employs in its Support, do not inerr it. 2. That the Consequence of his *Conclusion*, from it, contradicts *Sacred Scripture*; and 3. *The very Nature of Things*, So that our first Proposition, *That the Egyptian Learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian Superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the Greek Writers, as the Honour and Opprobrium of that People*, stands clear of all Objection. — What that *Learning* and

<sup>m</sup> The Reader may not be displeased to see *Homer's* Sentiments of this Matter. Now *Homer* supposes the Science of *Architecture* arrived to great Perfection in the Time of the *Trojan War*. For speaking of the Palace of *Paris* (whom, as his great Translator rightly observes, he makes to be a *Bel-Esprit* and a *fine Genius*) he describes it in this Manner,

Ἐκίωρε δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βεῖοις  
ΚΑΛΑ, τὰ δ' αὖτις ἔτειξε σὺν ἀνέχουσιν, οἱ τὸτ' ἈΡΙΣΤΟΙ  
Ἦσαν οἱ Τροίη ἐραβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,  
Οἱ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΔΩΜΑ, καὶ Αἶθλην. II. 3. 310.

Here we see a magnificent Palace, built by profest Architects with all its Suits of Apartments. As different from the Description of *Heſtor's* Habitation, as were the Characters of the Masters; of which last he only says it was a commodious habitable House:

ἈΨα δ' ἔπειθ' ἔχανε δόμους ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ  
Ἐκίωρες —

Ibid. 497.  
Super-

*Superstition* were, we have shewn very largely, tho' occasionally, in the Course of this Inquiry; namely, that their *Learning* in general was consummate Skill in CIVIL POLICY AND THE ARTS OF LEGISLATION: and their *Superstition*, the WORSHIP OF DEAD MEN DEIFIED.

## S E C T. VI.

I Come, at length, to my *second* Proposition: Which, if the Reader, as is not unlikely, should by this Time have forgot, he may be very well excused. — It is this, *That the Jewish People were extremely fond of Egyptian Manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian Superstitions: And that many of the Laws given to them by the Ministry of Moses were instituted, partly in Compliance to their Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to those Superstitions.*

The first Part of this Proposition, *the People's Fondness for, and frequent lapse into, Egyptian Superstitions*, needs not many Words to evince. The Thing, as we shall see hereafter, being so natural in itself; and, as we shall now see, so evidently recorded in Scripture.

When GOD, remembring his Covenant with *Abraham*, was pleased in the Bitterness of this People's Bondage, to appoint them a Leader and Deliverer; This Leader was so sensible of their Alienation from the GOD of their Fathers, that he would willingly have declined the Office: and when absolutely commanded to undertake it, desired however that GOD would let him know by what NAME he would be called, when the People should ask the *Name* of the GOD of their Fathers. *And Moses said unto GOD, Behold when I come unto the Children of Israel, and say unto them, The GOD of your Fathers hath sent*

*sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me, WHAT IS HIS NAME? What shall I say unto them?*<sup>n</sup> Here we see a People possessed with the very Spirit of *Egyptian* Superstition. The Religion of NAMES was, as hath been shewn °, a Matter of great Consequence in *Egypt*. It was one of their essential Superstitions; it was of their own Invention; and the first Thing they communicated to the *Greeks*. But this Name was not a mere Name of Distinction; for such all Nations, worshipping local tutelary Deities, had, before their Communication with *Egypt*; but a Name of Honour<sup>p</sup>. Out of Indulgence therefore to this Weakness, GOD was pleased to give himself a NAME. And GOD said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: And he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the Children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you<sup>q</sup>. Where we may observe how (according to the constant Method of divine Wisdom, when he condescends to the Prejudices of Men) he gives, in the very Instance of Indulgence to their Superstition, a thorough Corrective of it. The Religion of Names

<sup>n</sup> EXOD. iii. 13. ° Pag. 217, & seq.

<sup>p</sup> In the History of the Acts of *Hezekiah*, King of *Judab*, it is said, that, "He removed the high Places, and brake the Images, and cut down the Groves, and brake in Pieces the brasen Serpent that *Moses* had made: for unto those Days the Children of *Israel* did burn Incense to it: and he called it NEHUSHTAN." [2 KINGS xviii. 4.] The Historian's recording the Name the King gave it, after breaking it to Pieces, will appear odd to those who do not reflect upon what has been said about the Superstition of Names. But that shews the great Propriety of the Observation. This *Idol*, like the rest, had, doubtless, its Name of Honour, signifying its divine Attributes of Power and Beneficence. Good *Hezekiah*, therefore, in contempt of its Name of Deification, called it *Nehushtan*, which signifies A THING OF BRASS. And it was not out of Season either to name it then, or to record it afterwards. For the Name of a demolished God, like the Shade of a deceased Hero, still stalked about, and was ready to prompt Men to Mischiefs.

<sup>q</sup> EXOD. iii. 14.

arose

arose from an idolatrous *Polytheism*, and the *Name* here given, implying *Eternity* and *Self-existence*, directly opposes that Idolatry. That this Compliance with the *Religion of Names*, was a new Indulgence to the Prejudices of this People, is evident from the following Words: *And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord: And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the NAME OF GOD ALMIGHTY, but by my NAME JEHOVAH was I not known to them*<sup>1</sup>. That is, as the GOD of *Abraham*, I before condescended to have a *Name of Distinction*: but now, in Compliance to another Prejudice, I condescend to have a *Name of Honour*. This seems to be the true Interpretation of this very difficult Text, about which, the Commentators are so much perplexed.

However *Moses* still appears unwilling to accept his Commission: and presumes to tell God, plainly, *But behold they will not believe me, nor hearken to my Voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee*<sup>2</sup>. But could this be said of a People, who, groaning in the bitterest Servitude, had the Message from God of a long promised Deliverance, at the very Time it had been predicted, if they had kept him, and his Dispensations, in Memory? When this Objection was removed, he had then another; and that was his Inability for the Office of an *Orator*. This too is answered. And when he was now driven from all his Subterfuges, he with much Passion declines the whole Employment, and cries out, *O my God, send I pray thee by the Hand of him whom thou wilt send*<sup>3</sup>. This justly provokes God's Displeasure: and on that, he finally complies. From all this Unwillingness, we must needs conclude, that *Moses* thought the recovery of this

<sup>1</sup> Exod. vi. 3.<sup>2</sup> Chap. iv. v. 1.<sup>3</sup> Chap. iv. v. 13.

People from *Egyptian* Superstitions to be quite desperate. And, humanly speaking, he did not judge amiss; as may be seen from a succinct Account of their Behaviour during the whole Time God was working this grand Deliverance.

For now *Moses* and *Aaron* deliver God's Message to them; and having confirmed it by Signs and Wonders, the *People believed*: But it was such a Belief, as Men have of a new and unexpected Matter, well confirmed to them. *They bow the Head too, and worship*<sup>u</sup>; but it appears to be a Thing they had not been lately used to. But how little true Sense they had of God's Visitation and Promises is seen from their Murmuring and Desponding<sup>w</sup> when Things did not immediately succeed according to their Wish: though *Moses*, as from God, had told them beforehand, that *Pharaoh* would prove cruel and hardhearted; and would defer their Liberty to the very last Distress<sup>x</sup>. And at length, when that Time came, and God had ordered them to purge and purify themselves from all the Idolatries of *Egypt*, so prodigiously attached were they to these Follies, as to disobey his Command even at the very Eve of their Deliverance<sup>y</sup>. A Thing altogether

<sup>u</sup> EXOD. iv. 31. <sup>w</sup> Chap. v. §. 21. <sup>x</sup> C. iii. §. 19, 20, 21.

<sup>y</sup> A learned Writer [Mr. Fourmont — *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des Anciens Peuples*] has followed a System that very well accounts for this unconquerable Propensity to *Egyptian* Superstitions. He supposes that the *Egyptian*, and consequently the *Jewish* Idolatry, consisted in the Worship of the dead Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, &c. 'Tis only pity that this should have the common Luck of *Systems*, to have all Antiquity obstinately bent against it. — Not more so, however, than its Author is against Antiquity, as the Reader may see by the Instance I am going to give him. Mr. Fourmont, in Consequence of his System, having taken it into his Head, that *Crónos* in *Sancho-niatho*, was *Abraham*; notwithstanding that *Fragment* tells us, that *Cronos* rebelled against his Father, and cut off his Privities; buried his Brother alive, and murdered his own Son and Daugh-  
incre-

incredible, but that we have God's own Word for it, by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *In the Day* (says he) *that I lifted up mine Hand unto them to bring them forth of the Land of Egypt, into a Land that I had spied for them flowing with Milk and Honey, which is the Glory of all Lands: Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not yourselves with the Idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your GOD. But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every Man cast away the Abominations of their Eyes, neither did they forsake the Idols of Egypt: Then I said, I will pour out my Fury upon them, to accomplish my Anger against them in the midst of the Land of Egypt. But I wrought for my Name's Sake, that it should not be polluted before the Heathen, amongst whom they were, in whose Sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the Land of Egypt. Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the Land of Egypt, and brought them into the Wilderness*<sup>2</sup>.

From all this, it appears, that their Cry, by reason of their Bondage, which came up unto God, was not for such a Deliverance as was promised to their Forefathers, to be brought up out of *Egypt*; but for such a one as might enable them to live at

ter; that he was an Idolater, and Propagator of Idolatry by consecrating several of his own Family; that he gave away the Kingdom of *Athens* to the Goddess *Athena*, and the Kingdom of *Egypt* to the God *Taaut*; notwithstanding all this, so inconsistent with the History of *Abraham*, yet, because the same Fragment says, that *Cronos*, in the Time of a Plague, sacrificed his only Son to appease the angry Shade of his murdered Father; and circumcised himself and his whole Army; on the Strength of this, and two or three cold fanciful Etymologies, this great Critic cries out, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du ceul Abraham, c'est être AVEUGLE D'ESPRIT, ET D'UN AVEUGLEMENT IRREME-*  
*DIABLE. Liv. ii. sect. 3. c. 3.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ezek. xx. 6. & seq.*

case amongst their *Flesh-pots* in it: But more particularly, from their Expostulations with *Moses*, when frightened, by the Pursuit of the *Egyptians*, at the *Red-Sea*. *Is not this* (say they) *the Word that we did TELL THEE IN EGYPT, LET US ALONE THAT WE MAY SERVE THE EGYPTIANS*<sup>a</sup>.

But now they are delivered; and by a Series of Miracles performed in their Behalf, got quite clear of the Power of *Egypt*. Yet on every little Distress, *Let us return to Egypt* was still the Cry. Thus, immediately after their Deliverance at the *Red-Sea*, on so common an Accident, as meeting in their Rout with *bitter Waters*, they were presently at their *what shall we drink*<sup>b</sup>? And no sooner had a Miracle removed this Distress, and they got into the barren Wilderness, but they were, again, at their *what shall we eat*<sup>c</sup>? Not that indeed they feared either to dye of Hunger or of Thirst; for they found the Hand of God ever ready to supply their Wants; but they wanted to be again in *Egypt*, and this Pretence was only to open a more decent Way of getting thither. Which yet, on Occasion, they were not ashamed to throw off, as where they say to *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Would to GOD, we had died by the Hand of the Lord in the Land of Egypt, when we sat by the Flesh-pots and did eat Bread to the full*<sup>d</sup>. That is in plain Terms, *Would we had died with our dear Brethren the Egyptians*. For they here allude to the *Destruction* of the *First-born*, when the destroying Angel (which was more than they deserved) *passed over* the Habitations of *Israel*.

But they have now both *Flesh* and *Bread*, when they cry out the second Time for *Water*: And even while, again, at their *why hast thou brought us up out of Egypt*<sup>e</sup>? a Rock, less hard than their Hearts,

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xiv. 12.<sup>b</sup> Chap. xv. 24.<sup>c</sup> Chap. xvi. 7. 2.<sup>d</sup> Chap. xvi. 7. 3.<sup>e</sup> Chap. xvii. 7. 3.



is made miraculously to pour out a Stream so large that *the Water runned down like Rivers*<sup>f</sup>, yet all the Effect it seemed to have upon them was only to put them more in Mind of *the Way of Egypt, and the Waters of Sihor*<sup>g</sup>.

Nay even after their receiving the *Law*, on their free and solemn Acceptance of *Jehovah* for their God and King, and, as it were, their being consecrated anew for his peculiar People, *Moses* only happening to stay a little longer in the Mount than was expected, they fairly took the Occasion of projecting a Design, and, to say the Truth, no ill laid one, of returning back into *Egypt*. They went to *Aaron*; and pretending they never hoped to see *Moses* again, desired another Leader. But they would have one in the Mode of *Egypt*; an Image, or visible Representative of God, *to go before them*<sup>h</sup>. *Aaron* complies, and makes them a GOLDEN CALF, in Conformity to the Superstition of *Egypt*; whose great God *Osiris* was worshipped under that Representative; and for greater Holiness too, out of the Jewels of the *Egyptians*<sup>i</sup>. In this so horrid Profanation of the God of their Fathers, their secret Drift was this, they wanted to get back into *Egypt*: And while the *Calf*, so much adored in that Country, went before them, they would come back with an Attonement and Reconciliation in their Hands. And doubtless their worthy *Mediator*, being made all of sacred *Egyptian* Metal, was to have been consecrated in one of their Temples, under the Name of OSIRIS REDUCTOR. But *Moses's* sudden Return broke all their Measures: and the Ringleaders of the Design were punished as they deserved.

At length, after numberless Follies and Perversities, they are brought, through God's Patience and

<sup>f</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 16.    <sup>g</sup> JER. ii. 18.    <sup>h</sup> Ex. xxxii. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Ὁ ΜΟΕΚΟΣ ἔτεκε ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ. Herodot. l. 3. c. 28.

Long-suffering, to the End of all their Travels; and the promised Land of Rest is just opening to receive them; when, on the Report of the cowardly Explorers, they relapse again into their old Delirium, *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this Land, to fall by the Sword, that our Wives and our Children should be a Prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a Captain, and let us return into Egypt<sup>k</sup>.* Which so provoked the Almighty, that he decreed to wear out that Generation in the Wilderness. How they spent their Time *there*, the Prophet *Amos* will tell us, *Have ye offered unto me* (says God) *any Sacrifices and Offerings in the Wilderness forty Years, O House of Israel<sup>l</sup>?*

In a Word, this Unwillingness to leave *Egypt*, and Impatience to return thither, are convincing Proofs of their Fondness for its Customs and Superstitions. When I consider all this, I seem less indisposed than the generality of Critics to excuse the false Accounts of the *Pagan* Writers concerning the *Exodus*: These concur to represent the *Jews* expelled or forcibly drove out of *Egypt*; and so, in reality, we see, they were. Their Mistake was only about the Expellor. The *Pagans* supposed him to be the King of *Egypt*; when indeed it was the God of *Israel* himself.

Let us view them next in Possession of the promised Land. A Land *flowing with Milk and Honey, the Glory of all Lands*. One would expect now their longing after *Egypt* should have ceased. And so doubtless it would, had it arose only from the *Egyptian Flesh-pots*; but it had a deeper Root, it was the spiritual Luxury of *Egypt*, their Superstitions, with which the *Israelites* were so besotted. And therefore no Wonder they still continued *Slaves* to

<sup>k</sup> NUMB. xiv. 3, 4.    <sup>l</sup> AM. v. 25.

their

their *Egyptian* Appetite. Thus the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Neither LEFT *she* her Whoredoms brought from Egypt<sup>m</sup>. So that after all God's Mercies conferred upon them, in putting them in Possession of the Land of Canaan, *Joshua* is, at last, forced to leave them with this fruitless Admonition, Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in Sincerity and in Truth, and PUT AWAY the Gods which your Fathers served on the other Side of the Flood and in EGYPT<sup>n</sup>. It is true, we are told that the People served the Lord all the Days of *Joshua*, and all the Days of the Elders that outlived *Joshua*, who had seen all the great Works of the Lord that he did for Israel<sup>o</sup>. But then it is subjoined — And there arose another Generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the Works which he had done for Israel — And they forsook the Lord GOD of their Fathers, which brought them out of the Land of Egypt, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the People that were round about them<sup>p</sup>. And in this State they continued throughout the whole Period of their Judges: except, when, from Time to Time, they were awakened into Repentance by the Severity of God's Judgments, which yet were no sooner gone over, than they fell back again into their old Lethargy of his Goodness.

Nor did their Fondness for *Egypt* at all abate when they came under the Iron Rod of their Kings; the Magistrate they had so rebelliously demanded; and which, as they pretended, was to set all Things right. On the contrary it grew still more inflamed; and instead of one Calf they would have two. Which *Ezekiel* hints at, where he says, Yet *she* MULTIPLIED her Whoredoms in calling to Remembrance the Days of her Youth wherein *she* had played

<sup>m</sup> Ez. xxiii. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Jos. xxiv. 14.

<sup>o</sup> JUDGES ii. 7.

<sup>p</sup> JUDGES ii. 10, 12.

*the Harlot in Egypt*<sup>9</sup>. And so favourite a Superstition were the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Beth-el*, that they still kept their Ground, against all those general Reformati-  
 ons that divers of the better Sort of Kings made to purge the Land of *Israel* from Idolatries. It is true, that their extreme Fondness for *Egyptian* Superstition was not the only Cause of so inveterate an Adherence. There were two others: the one, that the Idolatry of the *Calves* was not altogether so gross an Affront to the God of their Fathers as many of the rest. Other of their Idolatries consisted in worshipping strange Gods in Conjunction with the God of *Israel*; That of the *Calves*, only in worshipping the God of *Israel* in an idolatrous Manner. This appears from the History of their Erection. And *Jeroboam*<sup>r</sup> said in his Heart, Now shall the Kingdom return to the House of David: If this People go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam King of Judah. Whereupon the King took Counsel, and made two Calves of Gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, Behold thy Gods, O *Israel*, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan<sup>s</sup>. It is too much for you (says he) to go up to Jerusalem. Who were the Men disposed to go up? None certainly but the Worshipers of the God of *Israel*. Consequently, the *Calves*, here offered to save them a Journey, must needs be given as the Representatives of that God. And if these were so, then,

<sup>9</sup> Ez. xxiii. 19. <sup>r</sup> It is to be observed of this *Jeroboam*, that he had sojourned in *Egypt*, as a Refugee, during the latter Part of the Reign of *Solomon*, 1 KINGS xi. 40.

<sup>s</sup> 1 KINGS xii. 26. & seq.

certainly,

certainly, the *Calf in Horeb*: since, at their several *Consecrations*, the very same Title was proclaimed of all three: *Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt.*

The other Cause of the perpetual Adherence of the *Kingdom of Israel* to their *Golden Calves* was their being first erected for a Prevention of Reunion with the *Kingdom of Judah*. *If this People* (says the politic Erector) *go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah.* The succeeding Kings, therefore, we may be sure, were as careful in preserving them, as he was in putting them up. So that, good or bad, the Character common to them all was, — *He departed not from the Sins of Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin,* namely in worshipping the Calves in *Dan* and *Beth-el*. And those of them who appeared most zealous of the Law of God, and utterly exterminated the Idolatry of *Baal*, as *Jehu*, yet connived at least, at this politic Worship of the *Calves* — *Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel. Howbeit from the Sins of Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not, to wit, the golden Calves that were in Beth-el, and that were in Dan. And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine Eyes, and hast done unto the House of Ahab according to all that was in mine Heart, thy Children of the fourth Generation shall sit on the Throne of Israel. But Jehu took no heed to walk in the Law of the Lord God of Israel with all his Heart: for he departed not from the Sins of Jeroboam which made Israel to sin<sup>t</sup>.*

But they had now contracted all the fashionable Habits of *Egypt*. We are assured that it was then

<sup>t</sup> 2 KINGS x. 28, & seq.

peculiar to the *Egyptian* Superstition for every City of the Empire to have its own tutelary God, besides those which were worshipped in common. And so, *Jeremiah* tells us had the People of *Judah* — *But where are thy Gods that thou hast made thee? let them arise if they can save thee in the Time of thy Trouble:* FOR ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THY CITIES, ARE THY GODS, O JUDAH<sup>a</sup>.

And by that Time the Sins of this besotted People were ripe for the Vengeance of their approaching Captivity, they had polluted themselves with *all kind of Egyptian Abominations*: As appears, from that famous Vision of *Ezekiel*, where their three capital Superstitions are so graphically described.

I. The first is delivered in this Manner. — *And he brought me to the Door of the Court, and when I looked, behold a Hole in the Wall. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the Wall: And when I had digged in the Wall, behold a Door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw, and behold every Form of creeping Things, and abominable Beasts, and all the Idols of the House of Israel portrayed upon the Wall round about. And there stood before them seventy Men of the Ancients of the House of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the Son of Shaphan, with every Man his Censer in his Hand, and a thick Cloud of Incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, hast thou seen what the Ancients of the House of Israel do in the Dark, every Man in the Chambers of his Imagry<sup>w</sup>?*

I. The first Conclusion I draw from these Words, is this general one, *That the Superstition here described was Egyptian.* This appears from its Objects being Gods peculiar to *Egypt*. Every Form of creeping Things and abominable Beasts, which, in

<sup>a</sup> Chap. ii. v. 28.

<sup>w</sup> *EZEK.* viii. 6, & seq.

another

another Place, the same Prophet calls, with great Propriety and Elegance, the *Abominations of the Eyes* of the *Israelites*<sup>x</sup>.

2. The second is more particular, That *they contain a very lively and circumstantial Description of the so celebrated MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS*. For 1. the Rites are represented as performed in a secret subterraneous Place. *And when I looked, behold a Hole in the Wall; Then said he unto me, Son of Man dig now in the Wall: and when I had digged in the Wall, behold a Door. And he said unto me, Go in—Hast thou seen what the Ancients of Israel do in the Dark?* This secret Place was, as the Prophet tells us, in the *Temple*. And such kind of Places, for this Use, the *Egyptians* had in *their Temples*, as we learn from a Similitude of *Plutarch's*. — *Like the Disposition* (says he) *and Ordonance of their Temples; which, in one Place, enlarge and extend themselves into long Wings, and fair and open Isles: in another, sink into dark and secret subterranean Vestries like the Abdita of the Thebans*<sup>y</sup>. 2. These Rites are celebrated by the *Sanhedrim*, or the *Elders of Israel*. — *And there stood before them seventy Men of the Ancients of the House of Israel*. Now we have shewn, in our Account of the *Mysteries*, that none but Princes, Rulers, and the wisest of the People, were admitted to their more secret Celebrations. 3. The Paintings and Imagry, on the Walls of this subterraneous Apartment, answer exactly to the Descriptions the Ancients have given us of the

<sup>x</sup> EZEK. XX. 7, 8. This shews *Brute-worship* in *Egypt* to have been vastly extensive at the *Exodus*; the Time the Prophet is here speaking of.

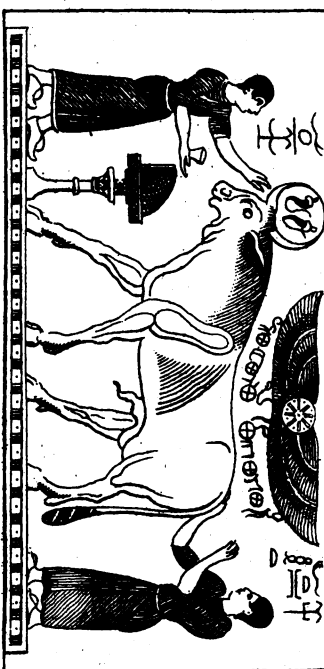
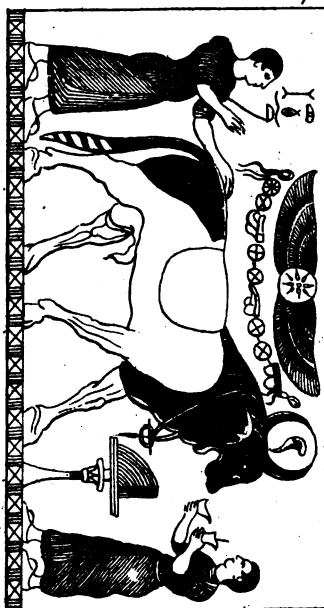
<sup>y</sup> Ὡς — αἱ τε τῶ Νεῶν διατίσεις, πῇ μὲν ἀνεμίνων εἰς πλοῦς καὶ δρόμους ὑπαυθείας καὶ καθαρὰς, πῇ δὲ κρυπλὰ καὶ σκότια καὶ γῆς ἐχούων τοιγάρτα θηδαιῶνς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ σπηκοῖς. — Περὶ Ἰσ. καὶ Οὐ. p. 639. St. Ed.

*Mystic Cells of the Egyptians.* — *Behold every Form of creeping Things and abominable Beasts, and all the Idols of the House of Israel pourtrayed upon the Wall round about.* There is a famous Monument of Antiquity well known to the Curious under the Name of the ISIAIC or BEMBINE TABLE, a consecrated Utensil in the Rites of *Isis* and *Osiris*: on which, (as appears by the Order of the several Compartments) is pourtrayed all the Imagry that adorned the Walls of the *Mystic Cell*. Now if one were to describe the Engravings on that TABLE, one could not find juster or more emphatic Terms, than what the Prophet has employed in his Description.

3. The third Conclusion I draw from this Vision is, that the *Egyptian Superstition* was that to which the *Israelites* were more particularly addicted. And thus much I gather from the following Words, *Behold every Form of creeping Things and abominable Beasts, and ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, pourtrayed upon the Wall round about.* I have shewn this to be a Description of an *Egyptian Mystic Cell*: which certainly was adorned only with *Egyptian* Gods: consequently those Gods are here called, by way of Eminence, *all the Idols of the House of Israel*. But the Words, *House of Israel*, being used in a Vision describing the Idolatries of the *House of Judah*, I take it for granted, that in this indefinite Number of — *All the Idols of the House of Israel*, were particularly intimated those two prime Idols of the *House of Israel*, the *Calves of Dan* and *Beth-el*. And the rather, for that I find the original *Calves* held a distinguished Station in the Paintings of the *Mystic Cell*. As the Reader may see by casting his Eye on the *Bembine Table*. And this, by the Way, will lead us to the Reason of *Jeroboam's* erecting two *Calves*. For they were, we see, worshipped in *Couples*, by the *Egyptians*, as representing *Isis*



from the Bembine Tables. orig. p. 186.





*Isis and Osiris.* — Now the *Egyptian* Gods being called by way of Eminence the *Idols of the House of Israel*, we must needs conclude that the *Israelites* were more particularly devoted to their Service. For other Idols they had besides *Egyptian*, and of those good Store ; as we shall now see.

For we are to observe, that this prophetic Vision is employed in describing the three Master-Superstitions of this unhappy People, the *EGYPTIAN*, the *PHENICIAN*, and the *PERSIAN*.

II. The *Egyptian* has been described. The *Phenician* follows, in these Words, — *He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the Gate of the Lord's House which was towards the North, and behold there sat WOMEN WEEPING FOR TAMMUZ* <sup>2</sup>.

III. The *Persian* Superstition is next described in this Manner, *Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O Son of Man ? Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations than these. And he brought me into the inner Court of the Lord's House, and behold, at the Door of the Temple of the Lord, between the Porch and the Altar, were about five and twenty Men with their Backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and THEIR FACES TOWARDS THE EAST, AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE SUN TOWARDS THE EAST* <sup>3</sup>.

1. It is observable, that when the Prophet is bid to *turn*, from the *Egyptian*, to the *Phenician* Rites, he is then said to look towards the *North* ; the Situation of *Phenicia* with regard to *Jerusalem* : consequently, he before stood *South* ; the Situation of *Egypt*, with regard to the same Place. And when, from thence, he is bid to turn into the inner Court of the Lord's House, to see the *Persian* Rites, this

<sup>2</sup> EZEK. viii. 13, & seq.      <sup>3</sup> y. 15, & seq.

was *East*, the Situation of *Persia*. With so exact Decorum is the whole Vision conducted.

2. Again, as the *mysterious Rites* of Egypt are represented, agreeably to their Usage, to be celebrated in *secret*, by their *Elders and Rulers* only: So the *Phenician Rites*, for the same Reason, are represented as celebrated, by the *People*, in open Day. And the *Persian*, to the Sun, which were celebrated by the *Magi*, are here said to be performed by the *Priests* alone, *five and twenty Men with their Faces towards the East*.

These three capital Superstitions the Prophet, again, distinctly objects to them, in a following Chapter. *Thou hast also committed Fornication with the EGYPTIANS, thy Neighbours, great of Flesh<sup>b</sup>; and hast increased thy Whoredoms to provoke me to Anger. Thou hast played the Whore also with the ASSYRIANS, because thou wast unsatiable: yea thou hast played the Harlot with them, and yet couldst not be satisfied. Thou hast moreover multiplied thy Fornication in the Land of CANAAN unto Chaldea, and yet thou wast not satisfied herewith<sup>c</sup>.*

And when the wretched Remnant, who, on the taking *Jerusalem*, had escaped the Fate of their enslaved Countrymen, were promised, by the Prophet, Safety and Security, if they would stay in *Judea*; they said — *No, but we will go into the Land of Egypt, where we shall see no War, nor bear the*

<sup>b</sup> Fornication, Adultery, Whoredom, are the constant Figures under which the Holy Spirit represents the Idolatries of the *Israelites*: Consequently, the Character here given of the *Egyptians* being great of *Flesh*, and in another Place, where, on the very same Occasion, it is said, that *their Flesh was as the Flesh of Asses, and their Issue like the Issue of Horses*, EZEK. xxiii. 20. must be understood as signifying, that *Egypt* was the grand Origine and Incentive of Idolatry, and the Propagator of it amongst the rest of Mankind: Which greatly confirms our general Notion concerning the Antiquity of this Empire. <sup>c</sup> EZEK. xvi. 26, & seq.

*Sound of the Trumpet, nor have Hunger of Bread, and there will we dwell*<sup>d</sup>.

Thus we see how surprizing a Fondness for *Egypt* had seized and possessed this infatuated People. Which, the more I consider, the more I am confirmed in the Truth of the Scripture Account, so opposite to Sir *Isaac Newton's*, that *Egypt* was, at the Egression of the *Israelites*, a great and powerful Empire. For nothing so much attaches a People to any particular Constitution, as the high Opinion of its Power, Wealth, and Felicity; which were ever supposed to be the joint Product of its Religion and civil Policy.

II. Having thus proved the *first Part* of the Proposition, *That the Jewish People were extremely fond of Egyptian Manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian Superstitions*, I come now to the *second*, *That many of the Laws given to them by the Ministry of Moses were instituted partly in Compliance to their Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to those Superstitions*, which the intelligent Reader cannot but perceive is a necessary Consequence of the other. For if a People, so preposterously prejudiced, were to be separated from all other Nations; to be kept pure from their Superstitions; and yet to be dealt with as free and accountable Agents; (which I suppose all Men will allow to have been the Case) the only Way we can conceive of doing this, was the giving them *Laws in Opposition to the Superstitions*, to which they were most violently bent. But such being the corrupt Nature of Man as ever to revolt the *Will* against what directly opposes its Prejudices, wise Legislators, when under the Necessity of giving such Laws, have always, in order to break and evade the Force of this Perversity, intermixed them with others that flattered the same Prejudices,

<sup>d</sup> JEREM. xlii. 14.

where

where the Practice could not be perverted to the Production of that Mischief, which it was their main Purpose, in their Laws of *Opposition*, to prevent<sup>e</sup>. And thus our inspired Lawgiver did indeed act with the *Jews*, if we will believe *JESUS* himself, where speaking of a certain positive Law, he says, *Moses for the hardness of your Hearts wrote you this Precept*<sup>f</sup>. Plainly intimating their Disposition to be such, that had not *Moses* indulged them in some Things, they would have revolted against all. But that they were in fact indulged in their Prejudices is still further seen from God's being pleased to be considered by them as a *local tutelary Deity*: which, when we come to prove that he was so considered, we shall shew, was the prevailing Superstition of those Times. It follows therefore, that *Moses's* giving the *Israelites* Laws in Compliance to these their Prejudices, was a natural and necessary Consequence of Laws given in *Opposition* to them. Thus far from the Reason of the Thing.

*Matter of Fact* likewise proves this latter Part of the Proposition with equal Evidence. We find in Scripture a surprizing Relation between *Jewish* and *Egyptian* Rites, in Circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*. But the learned *Spencer* has fully exhausted this Subject, in his excellent Work, intitled *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus & earum Rationibus*, and thereby done great Service to Religion: I say to Religion, for the Ritual Law thus explained is seen to be an Institution of the most beautiful and divine Contrivance. Which, without its *Causes*, to be given only on this Hypothesis, must lye for ever open to the Scorn and Contempt of Libertines and Unbelievers. The Foundation of this noble

<sup>e</sup> See this Reasoning inforced, and explained more at large in our Proof of the next Proposition.

<sup>f</sup> MARK. x. 5. and MAT. xix. 8.

Work is a Book of *Rabbi Moses Maimonides*: of whom only to say, (as is commonly said) that *he is the first of the Rabbins that left off Trifling*, is a poor and invidious Commendation. Of the third Part of his famous Book called *More Nevochim*, *Spencer's* Work is an admirable Paraphrase and Comment: And thither I refer my impartial Readers; relying on their Justice to believe that I mean to charge myself with no more of his Opinions than what directly tend to the Proof of this Part of my Proposition, viz. that there is a great and surprising Relation between the *Jewish* and *Egyptian* Rites, in Circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*.

Nor do I ask any Thing unreasonable when I desire the Reader would accept of this as proved; since the very learned and worthy *Herman Witsius*, in a Book professedly written to confute *Spencer*, owns the *Fact* in the fullest and most ingenuous Terms. — *Ita autem commodissime me processurum existimo, si primo longa exemplorum inductione ex Doctissimorum virorum mente, & eorum plerumque verbis, demonstravero, MAGNAM ATQUE MIRANDAM PLANE CONVENIENTIAM IN RELIGIONIS NEGOTIO VETERES INTER ÆGYPTIOS ATQUE HEBRÆOS ESSE. Quæ cum fortuita esse non possit, necesse est ut vel Ægyptii sua ab Hebræis, vel ex adverso Hebræi sua ab Ægyptiis habeant* &c. — And again, *Porro, si, levato antiquitatis obscurioris velo, gentium omnium ritus oculis vigilantibus intueamur, Ægyptios & Hebræos, PRÆ OMNIBUS ALIIS moribus SIMILLIMOS fuisse comperiemus. Neque hoc Kircherum fefellit, cujus hæc sunt verba: Hebræi tantam habent ad ritus, sacrificia, cærimonias, sacras disciplinas Hebræorum affinitatem, ut vel Ægyptios Hebraizantes, vel Hebræos Ægyptizantes fuisse plane mihi persuadeam. — Sed quid verbis opus est? in rem præ-*

& *Hermanni Witsii Ægyptiaca*, Amst. 1696. Q<sup>o</sup>. p. 4.

*sententiam*

*sentem veniamus*<sup>h</sup>. And so he goes on to transcribe, from *Spencer* and *Marsham*, all the remarkable particulars of this Relation and Resemblance.

What is it then, a Stranger would be apt to ask, that this learned Man *disputes*? This natural Consequence, that *the Jewish Ritual was given partly in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions*: The Proposition we had to prove. He rather thinks that the *Egyptian Ritual* was invented in Imitation of the *Jewish*. For the Reader sees the Men in these Sentiments are agreed; that *either the Jews borrowed from Egypt, or the Egyptians from Judea*; so strong is the *Relation* which forces this Confession.

Now the only plausible Support of the Opinion, *that it was Egypt which borrowed from Judea*, being *this Supposition*, that the Rites and Customs of the *Egyptians*, as delivered by the *Greek Writers*, were of much later Original than those Writers pretend; and my Discourse, on the Antiquities of *Egypt*, in the preceeding Section, entirely confuting *this Supposition*; the latter Part of my Proposition, *viz. That many of the Laws given to the Jews, by the Ministry of Moses, were instituted partly in Compliance to their Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions*, is proved with all the Force of Demonstration.

But to let nothing, that has the Appearance of a Reason, remain unanswered, I shall, in as few Words as may be, examine this Opinion, that the *Egyptians* borrowed from the *Israelites*; viewing both Parties in that very Light wherein Holy Scripture has placed them. The *Periods* then, in some of which, this must needs be supposed to have happened, are these. 1. The Time of *Abraham's* Residence in *Egypt*. 2. That of *Joseph's* Govern-

<sup>h</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 4, 5.

ment.



ment. 3. That of the Slavery of *his*, and his Brethren's Descendants: And 4. Any indefinite Time after their Egression from *Egypt*. Now not to insist on the high Improbability of a *great Monarchy's* borrowing its religious Rites from a *private Family*; I answer that of these *four* Periods, the *three first* are quite beside the Question. For the *Characteristic* Relation, insisted on, is between the *Egyptian* Ritual, and that which was properly *Mosaical*. And let no one pretend that we are unable to distinguish those *Rites* which were purely *such*, from what were *Patriarchal*: For *Moses*, to add the greater Force and Efficacy to the whole of his Institution, has been careful to record each specific Member that was properly *Patriarchal*<sup>i</sup>. The *last*

<sup>i</sup> Yet this Evasion a learned Writer would seem to insinuate in an Argument designed to make short Work with *Spencer's* Argument. His Words are these—"It is remarkable that some learned Writers, and *Dr. Spencer* in particular, have imagined, that the Resemblance between the ancient Heathen Religions, and the ancient Religion which was instituted by *God*, was in many Respects so great, that they thought that *God* was pleased to institute the one in Imitation of the other. This Conclusion is indeed a very wrong one, and it is the grand Mistake which runs through all the Works of the very learned Author last mentioned. The ancient Heathen Religions do indeed in many Particulars agree with the Institutions and Appointments of that Religion, which was appointed to *Abraham* and to his Family, and which was afterwards revived by *Moses*; not that these were derived from those of the Heathen Nations, but much more evidently the Heathen Religions were copied from them; for there is, I think, ONE OBSERVATION, which, as far as I have had Opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every Particular that *Dr. Spencer* has offered, and that is this; He is able to produce no one Ceremony or Usage, practised both in the Religion of *Abraham* or *Moses*, and in that of the Heathen Nations, but that it may be proved, that it was used by *Abraham* or *Moses*, or by some other of the true Worshipers of *God* earlier than by any of the Heathen Nations". *Sacred and Proph. Hist. Connected*, vol. i. 2<sup>d</sup>. Ed. p. 316, 317. — The learned Writer (as we said) seems here to suppose an im-

*Period*

*Period* then only remains to be considered, namely, from the Time of the *Egression*. Now from henceforward, we say, the *Egyptians* would not borrow of the *Israelites*, for these two plain and powerful

palpable Difference between the *Mosaic* and *Patriarchal* Religions. — But this was not my principal Reason for quoting so long a Passage. It was to consider his *one Observation*, which is to make such Work with *Spencer*. Now I cannot find that it amounts to any more than this, — That the Bible, in which is contained the Account of the *Jewish* Religion, is a much older Book than any other that pretends to give Account of the national *Pagan* Religions. But how this discredits Dr. *Spencer's* Opinion I can't see. I can easily see, indeed, the Advantage this learned Writer would have over it, were there any ancient Books that delivered the *Origine* of *Gentile Religions* in the same circumstantial Manner that the Bible delivers this of the *Jewish*; and that, on a proper *Application* of this *one Observation*, it appeared that Dr. *Spencer*, with all his Labour, *was able to produce no one Ceremony or Usage practised both in true and false Religion, but that it might be proved it was used first in the True*. But as Things stand at present, what is it this learned Writer would have? The Bible, is by far, the oldest Book in the World. It records the History of a Religion given by God to a People which had been long held in a State of Slavery by a great and powerful Monarchy. The ancient Historians, in their Accounts of the religious Rites and Manners of that Monarchy, deliver many which have a surprising Relation to the *Jewish* Ritual; and these *Rites*, these *Manners*, were, they tell us, as old as the Monarchy. Thus stands the Evidence on the present State of Things. So that from hence it appears, if, by, *it may be proved*, the learned Writer means to confine his Proof to contemporary Evidence, he only tells us what the Reader knew before, *viz.* That the Bible is the oldest Book in the World. But if, by, *it may be proved*, he means proved by such Arguments as the Nature of Things will admit, then he tells us what the Reader now knows to be *false*. I will only observe that the learned Writer seems to have borrowed his *one Observation* from a Chapter of *Witsius's Ægyptiaca*, thus intitled, *Nullius Historici sufficienti Testimonio probari posse, ea quæ in Religione laudabilia sunt apud Ægyptios, quam apud Hebræos antiquiora fuisse*, l. iii. c. 1. to which, what I have here said is, I think, a full Answer. — The learned Writer will forgive me, if, before I leave this Passage, I take Notice of an Expression that much reflects on that good Man, and sincere Believer, Dr. *Spencer*; but I suppose not designedly, because it seems a mere inaccu-

Rea-

Reasons, 1. They held the *Israelites* in the utmost Hatred and Contempt, as SHEPHERDS, SLAVES, and ENEMIES, who had brought the most terrible Devastation upon *Egypt*. But People never borrow their *religious Rites* of those to whom they stand in such mortal Distance. 2. It was Part of the Religion of the *old Egyptians* to borrow from none<sup>k</sup>: therefore, certainly, not from *Judea*. This is the uniform Account we have, of their natural Disposition, from those Ancients who have treated of their *Manners*. While, on the other Hand, we are assured, from *infallible Authority*, that the *Israelites*, of the Time of *Moses*, were in the very Extreme of the contrary Humour, and were for borrowing all they could lay their Hands on. This being so notorious, I was surprised to find the learned *Witsius* would attempt to prove the *Egyptians much inclined to borrowing*<sup>l</sup>. But much more surprised

racy. The Words are these — *They thought* [i. e. Dr. Spencer and others] *that God was pleased to institute the one in Imitation of the others*. Now this no Believer ever thought. They might think indeed he *instituted one in Reference to the other*, i. e. that Part of its *Rites* were in direct Opposition to *idolatrous Customs*; and Part (out of regard to the People's Prejudices) in Conformity to such Customs of *Idolaters* as could not be abused to Superstition. But this is a very different Thing from *instituting one Religion in Imitation of another*. As no Believer could suppose God did this; so neither, I will add, could any Unbeliever. For this his Opinion, *That the Jewish Religion was instituted in Imitation of the Heathen*, is what induces him to conclude that God was not its Author

<sup>k</sup> — *Ægyptii detestari videntur quicquid ei gentis & parentibus imitarentur*. Witlii *Ægyptiaca* p. 6. — Παλαιοῖσι δὲ χεῖρότεροι νόμοις, ἄλλων ἑδὲν ἐπικλεῖναι τοῖσι. *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 78. — Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομάσι φεύγειν χρῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' Ἀλλῶν Μηδᾶμα Μηδᾶμων ἀνθρώπων νομάσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἀιγύπτῳ ἔτω τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ νόμοις. c. 91.

<sup>l</sup> His Words are these, *Magna quidem laterum contentione reclamatur Doctissimus Spencerus, prorsusque incredibile esse contendit, considerato gentis utriusque genio, ut ab Hebræis Ægyptii in suam* with

with his Arguments: which are these. 1. *Clemens Alex.* says, that it was the Custom of the *Barbarians*, and particularly the *Egyptians*, to honour their Legislators and Benefactors as Gods. 2. That *Diodorus Siculus* confirms this Account, where he says, that the *Egyptians* were the most grateful of all Mankind to their Benefactors. And 3. That the same Historian tells us, when *Egypt* was become a Province to *Persia*, the *Egyptians* deified *Darius*, while yet alive; which they never had done to any other King<sup>m</sup>. — This is the whole of his Evidence to prove the *Egyptian* Genius so greatly inclined to foreign Rites. Nor should I have exposed the Nakedness of this learned and honest Man either in this Place or elsewhere, but for the Use that has been made of his Authority, of which more hereafter. But *Witsius*, and those in his Way of thinking, when they talk of the *Egyptians* borrowing

*tam multa religionem adsciverint. At quod ipsi incredibile videtur, id mihi, post alios eruditione atque judicio clarissimos, perquam probabile est: IPSO ÆGYPTIORUM ID SUADENTE GENIO. In eo quippe præstantissimi Auctores consentiunt, solitos fuisse Ægyptios maxime eos existimatione prosequi, quos sapientia atque virtute excellentiores cernebant, & a quibus se ingentibus beneficiis affectos esse meminerant: adeo quidem ut ejusmodi mortales, non defunctos solum, sed & superstites, pro Diis haberent. Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 262.*

<sup>m</sup> *Clemens Alexandrinus* clarum esse dicit, *Barbaros* eximie semper honorasse suos Legumlatores & Præceptores Deos ipsos appellantes. — Inter *Barbaros* autem cum maxime id præstiterunt *Ægyptii*. Quin etiam genus *Ægyptium* diligentissime illos in Deos retulit. Assentitur *Diodorus*; *Egyptios* denique supra cæteros Mortales quicquid bene de ipsis meretur grata mente prosequi affirmant. — Neque popularibus modo suis atque indigenis — sed *Peregrinis* — Facit huc *Darii Persarum* regis exemplum, quod *Diodori* iterum verbis exponam. Tandem *Darius* legibus *Ægyptiorum* animum appulisse dicitur — Nam cum *Sacerdotibus* *Ægypti* familiaritatem iniit, &c. — Propterea tantum honoris consecutus est, ut *superstes* adhuc *Divi* appellationem, quod nulli regum aliorum contigit, promeruerit. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 263.

*Hebrew*

*Hebrew Rites*, seem to have entertained a wrong Idea of that People. It was not in ancient *Egypt*, as in ancient *Greece*, where every *private* Man, that had travelled for it, found himself at Liberty to set up what *lying Vanity* he pleased, and to steal it where he pleased. For in that ancient Monarchy Religion was in the Hands of the Magistrate, and under the Inspection of the Public. So that no *private* Innovations *could* be made, had the People been as much disposed, as they were indeed averse to Innovations; and that any *public* ones *would* be made, by Rites borrowed from the *Hebrews*, is, as we have shewn above, the highest Improbability.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to shew the Falseness of this Proposition, *that the Egyptians borrowed of the Israelites*, from the Nature of Things. But I shall now demonstrate it from infallible Testimony, the Word of God himself: Who upbraiding the *Israelites* for borrowing idolatrous Rites of all their Neighbours, expresses himself in this Manner, by the Prophet *Ezekiel*. — *And the Contrary is in thee from other Women*, WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou givest a Reward, and no Reward is given to thee, therefore thou art contrary*<sup>n</sup>. The intelligent Reader perceives that the plain Meaning of these figurative Terms, is this, *You People of the Jews are contrary to all other Nations; you are fond of borrowing their Rites while none of them are fond of borrowing yours*. Had God not said it here, we might easily have collected this remarkable Fact from sacred History. The Reason will be accounted for hereafter. At present I shall only observe, in order to inforce this Argument, that, by the Words, *Whereas none followeth thee to commit Whoredoms*, is not meant, no Particulars embrace the *Jewish*

<sup>n</sup> EZEK. xvi. 34.

Religion; but, that no gentile People take in any of its Rites into their own. And for this convincing Reason, the Whoredom or Idolatry of the Community of *Israel* is here spoken of. And that, as will be proved in the next Book, did not consist in renouncing the Religion of *Moses*, but in polluting that Religion with a Mixture of idolatrous Rites, and Worship.

The Reader, by this Time, perhaps may begin to wonder how Men can stand out against such kind of Evidence. It is not I will assure him from their abounding in Arguments on the other Side of the Question; or from their not seeing the Force of those on *this*: But from a pious, and therefore very excusable, Apprehension of Danger to the Divinity of the Law, if it should be once granted that any of the ceremonial Part, *was given in Compliance to the People's Prejudices*.

The Imagination, therefore, of this *Consequence* being the Thing that makes *them* so unwilling to own, and the *Deists*, against the very Genius of the Infidelity, so ready to embrace, an *evident Truth*; I come opportunely in the Proof of my *third Proposition*, to set both Parties right: and shew the Consequence groundless; and that the Fears and Hopes built upon it are vain and fantastic, which I will venture to predict, will always be the Issue of such Hopes and Fears as arise only from the true State of ancient Fact.

## II.

Our *third Proposition* is, that *Moses's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws be instituted in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions, are no reasonable Objection to the Divinity of his Mission*.

The first Part of the Proposition concerns *Moses's Egyptian Wisdom*. Let us *previously* consider what  
that

that was. MOSES (says the holy Martyr Stephen) WAS LEARNED IN ALL THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS°. Now where the Wisdom of a Nation is spoken of, the *Wisdom* meant must needs be that for which such Nation is eminently famous: Where the Wisdom of a particular Man, that which is peculiar to his Quality and Profession. St. Stephen, in this Place, speaks of *both*. In both therefore he must needs mean CIVIL or POLITICAL Wisdom, for in *that* (as we have shewn) were the Egyptians most remarkably distinguished. And in that, was the true Character of *Moses* comprised, whether we consider his Education, Quality or Profession. He was bred up at Court, had a Royal Adoption, and became, at length, the Leader and Lawgiver of a numerous People. More than this, it was under his *public Character* that St. Stephen is here considering him. Common Sense therefore requires us to understand the inspired Speaker as affirming, that *Moses was consummately instructed in the Science of Legislation*. The Words indeed are ALL the Learning of the Egyptians. But every one knows, that where a particular Matter is discoursed of, as here, the conducting the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, the Particle *all* referring to it, cannot, by the Rules of good Logic, mean *all of every Kind*, but *all the Parts of one Kind*; viz. the Kind that concerns the Subject in Question. In this restrained Sense, *all* is frequently used in the sacred Writings. Thus in the Gospel of St. John JESUS says, *When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come he will guide you into ALL Truth*†. Here every one sees by the Character of those spoken to, and the Occasion of speaking, that by *all* is not meant all of every Kind, but all of one Kind only. But further, the concluding Part of the Character, *and mighty in Words and*

° ACTS vii. 22.    † JOHN xvi. 13.

*Deeds*, will not easily suffer the foregoing to admit of any other Interpretation; ἦν ᾗ δυνατὸς ἐν ΛΟΓΟΙΣ καὶ ἐν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ. This was the very Character of the ancient Chief: who, leading a *free and willing* People, needed the *Arts of Peace* at home, such as PERSUADING, and MAKING LAWS, the ΛΟΓΟΙ: And the *Arts of War* abroad, as CONDUCT and COURAGE, the ΕΡΓΑ, of the Martyr. This *Wisdom*, therefore, in which *Moses* was said to be so versed, we conclude was the τὸ πραγματικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, in Contradistinction to the τὸ θεωρητικόν. Hence may be seen the Impertinence of those long Inquiries, which, on Occasion of these Words, have been made concerning the State of the *Speculative* and *Mechanic* Arts and Sciences of *Egypt*, at this Period.

The WISDOM, then, for which *Moses* is here celebrated, was Knowledge in the Arts of Government and Legislation. The ready Deist, I suppose, will close with me here, and easily allow all my Arguments; which give him the near Prospect of so flattering a Conclusion, *that therefore the Establishment of the Jewish Policy was all Moses's own Contrivance*. In good Time. Only let him not, in his Haste, forget a Maxim, which he will, I dare say, never venture to disprove, *that God, in the moral Government of the World, never does that in an EXTRAORDINARY Way that can be equally effected in an ORDINARY*; and then he has my Leave to make the Best of his Advantages.

In the Separation of the *Israelites*, a *Civil Policy* and *National Religion* were to be established and incorporated, by God himself. And to this End an Agent or Instrument was appointed. In this Work of Legislation, therefore, either the Agent was to understand the Government of a People, and so be capable of following the general Plan delivered to him



him by GOD, for the Erection of this extraordinary Policy: Or else he was not to understand the Government of a People, and so GOD, in the Execution of this Plan, was at every Step to interfere, and direct his Ignorance and Inability. Now as this perpetual Interposition might be spared by the Choice of an able Leader, we conclude, on the Maxim laid down, that GOD, in this Work, would certainly employ such an One.

There was yet another, and that no slight Expediency, for such a Leader. The *Israelites* were a stubborn People, now first forming into civil Society, greatly licentious; and the more so, for their just coming out of a State of Slavery. Had *Moses* therefore been so unequal to his Station, as to need GOD's Guidance, at every Step, to set him right; he would soon have lost that Authority so requisite to the keeping an unruly Multitude in Order; and sunk into such Contempt amongst them, as would have greatly retarded their designed Establishment.

But it will be said, if there wanted so able a Chief under a proper THEOCRACY (as we pretend this to be) at its first setting up; there would still be the same Want, though not in the same Degree, during the whole Continuance of it. It is likely there would; because I find, GOD made a proper Provision for it; first in the Erection of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: and afterwards, in the Establishment of the GREAT SANHEDRIM which succeeded to it. But *Sacred History* mentioning these *Schools of the Prophets*, (as it does the Assembly of the *seventy Elders*) only *occasionally*, the Accounts we have of them are very short and imperfect. Which is the Reason why Interpreters, who have not well weighed the Occasion of their Mention, have greatly misunderstood their Nature.

The most particular Account we have of them is in the *first Book of Samuel*, and on this Occasion, — *David*, in his escape from the Rage of *Saul*, fled to his Protector *Samuel*: who then presided over a *School of the Prophets*, at *Naioth in Ramah*<sup>q</sup>. When this was told *Saul*, he sent Messengers to take him<sup>r</sup>. And, on the ill Success of their Errand, went afterwards himself<sup>s</sup>. But as it was the Intent of the Historian, in this mention of the *Schools of the Prophets*, only to acquaint us with the Effect they had on *Saul* and his *Messengers*, when the Spirit of God came upon them, we have only a partial View of this *Collegiate Body*, namely while at their *Devotions*, and not during their *Studies*. For *Saul* and his *Messengers* coming at those Times when the Company of Prophets was *Prophefying*<sup>t</sup>, the Spirit of God fell upon them, and *they prophefied* also, i. e. they came while the Prophets were at their Devotions. And thus the *Chal. Par.* understands *Prophefying*; adoring God, and singing Praises unto him. For with this holy Exercise we must needs suppose they daily began and ended all their Studies.

But from hence, Writers of different Parties have fallen into the same Strange and ridiculous Opinions concerning this Matter. While they imagined that, because these *Schools* were indeed Nurseries of the Prophets, that therefore they were Places of Instruction for I dont know what kind of *Art of Prophecy* — A senseless Dotage; first hatched in the dirty Brain of a Rabbi; and then nursed up, as is the common Fortune of all such Fancies, by the Enemies of Revelation. The infamous *Spinoza* was the Foster-father of this Conceit: and ever since, it

<sup>q</sup> 1 SAM. XIX. 18.<sup>r</sup> *ibid.* 21.<sup>s</sup> *ibid.* 23.<sup>t</sup> *ibid.* 20.

has

has been much cherished by his Followers<sup>n</sup>, as a certain Proof that *Prophecy* was amongst the *Mechanic Arts* of the *Israelites*. Whereas an Inquirer of either Sense or Honesty would have seen it was a *College for the Study of the Jewish Law only*. And, as such, naturally and properly, a Seminary of Prophets. For those who were most knowing and zealous in the Law, were surely most fit to convey God's Revelations to his People.

Our Account of the Nature of these *Schools* will help us to discover the true Reason of its becoming a Proverb in *Israel*, IS SAUL ALSO AMONGST THE PROPHETS<sup>w</sup>. Which I apprehend is not otherwise very easy to find out. This Proverb was used to express a *Thing unlooked for and incredible*. But sure the Spirit of God's falling occasionally on their supreme Magistrate could be no such unexpected Matter, at a Time when it was so plentifully poured out upon the People: who knew too that even Gentiles and Idolaters had partaken of it, while concerned in Affairs relating to their Oeconomy. But more than this, they could not be ignorant that the Spirit of God had usually abode with *Saul*; as appears from the following Words of the sacred Historian, *But the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him* <sup>x</sup>. From all this I certainly conclude that the People's Surprise, which occasioned this Proverb, was not be-

<sup>w</sup> The Author of the *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* says — “ They [the Pagans] learnt the *Art* [Divination] “ in *Schools*, or under Discipline, as the *Jews* did *propheying* in the “ *Schools and Colleges of the Prophets* [For which *Wheatly's Schools of the Prophets* is quoted] where the learned *Dodwell* says, the “ *Candidates for Prophecy* were taught the *Rules of Divination* “ practised by the *Pagans*, who were skilled therein, and in Possession of the *Art* long before them”. p. 28.

<sup>w</sup> *J.* 24.      <sup>x</sup> 1 SAM. xvi. 14.

cause they heard the Spirit of God had fallen upon him; but for a very different Thing: which I shall now endeavour to explain.

SAUL, with many great regal and moral Qualities, and in no Respect a contemptible Chief, was yet so poorly prejudiced in Favour of the human Policies of the neighbouring Nations, as to become, at length, impiously cold and negligent in the Support and Advancement of the *Law*: tho' raised by God to regal Power for this very Purpose, from a low and obscure Condition. He was, in a Word, a mere Politician, without the least Zeal or Love for the divine Constitution of his Country. This was his great, and no Wonder it should prove, his unpardonable Crime. For his Folly had reduced Things to that Extremity, that either he must fall, or the *Law*. Now, this Gentile Turn of Mind, was no Secret to the People. When, therefore, they were told that he had sent frequent Messengers to the supreme School of the Prophets, where Zeal for the *Law* was so eminently professed; and had afterwards gone himself thither, and entered with divine Emotion and Extacy, into their Devotions; they received this extraordinary News with all the Wonder and Amasement it deserved. And, in the Transport of their Surprise, cried out, *Is Saul also amongst the Prophets!* i. e. Is *Saul*, who, throughout his whole Reign, has so much slighted and contemned the *Law*, and would conduct all his Actions by sole Rules of human Policy, is he, at length, become studious and zealous of the *Law* of God? And the *Miracle*, of such a Change in a *Politician*, brought it into a Proverb before the Mistake was discovered.

This Matter will receive further Illustration from what we are told, in the same Story, concerning DAVID. A Man of so opposite a Character, with  
regard

regard to his Sentiments of the *Law*, that it appears to have been for this Difference *alone*, that he was decreed by God to succeed the other in his Kingdom. Now *David*, the Story tells us, sojourned for some Time in this School. So *David fled and escaped, and came to Samuel at Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him, and HE AND SAMUEL WENT AND DWELT IN NAIOTH<sup>y</sup>*. And here it was, as we may reasonably conclude, that he so largely cultivated and improved his good natural Dispositions of Love and Zeal for the Law, as to merit that most glorious of all Titles, *the Man after GOD's own Heart*. For, till this Time, his Employment, and Way of Life had been very different. His Childhood and Youth, spent in the *Country*: and his early Manhood in *Camps and Courts<sup>z</sup>*. But

<sup>y</sup> *y. 18.* <sup>z</sup> There is a Difficulty, in the History of *David*, which has much perplexed the Commentators. It is this, — In the *xv<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the first Book of Samuel*, we find *David* sent for to Court, to sooth *Saul's* melancholy Spirit with his Harp. Who, on his Arrival, gave so much Satisfaction to the disordered Monarch, that he sent to his Father to desire he might stand before him [*y. 22*] that is, continue with him. He does so: and becomes his *Armour-bearer*. [*y. 21.*] Yet in the next Chapter, where an Incurion of the *Philistines*, and the Defiance of *Goliath* is related, when *David* accepts the Challenge, and goes to *Saul* for Leave to fight, neither the King, nor the Captain of his Host, know any Thing of him or his Lineage. This is the main Difficulty. A late Critic tries to put us off with a *Joke* for a *Reason*: And says, we are not to wonder they had forgot *David*, seeing Courtiers have small Memories. The true Solution of the Difficulty seems to be this: *David's* Adventure with *Goliath* was prior in Time to his solacing *Saul* with his Harp. Which latter Story is given by *Anticipation* in Chap. *xvi.* but very properly and naturally. For there, the Historian having told at large, how God had rejected *Saul*, and anointed *David*; he goes on, which was a Matter of highest Moment in a religious History, to inform us of the *Effects* of his rejecting one, and chusing the other; though we are not to suppose them the instantaneous Effects. The *Effect* of rejecting *Saul* was, he tells us, the departing of God's Spirit from him, and his being troubled of

of the very different Characters of *Saul* and *David*, and their as different Acceptation with the God of

with an evil Spirit, [§. 14.] this leads him, naturally, to speak of the *Effect* of chusing *David*, namely the endowing him with many Graces; for *Saul's* Trouble was only to be alleviated by *David's* Skill on the Harp. When the Historian had, in this very judicious Manner, *anticipated* the Story, from the 14<sup>th</sup>. to the 23<sup>d</sup> verse of the xvi<sup>th</sup> Chap. he returns to the Order of Time, in the Beginning of the xvii<sup>th</sup> Chapter. So that the true Chronology of this Part of *David's* Life stands thus: He is anointed by *Samuel*, — He carries Provisions to his Brethren, incamped against the *Philistines*, in the Valley of *Elab*, — he fights and overcomes *Goliath*, — is received into the King's Court, — contracts a Friendship with *Jonathan*, — incurs *Saul's* Jealousy, — retires home to his Father, — is, after some Time, sent for back to Court, to sooth *Saul's* Melancholy, — proves successful, and is made his Armour-bearer, — and, again, excites *Saul's* Jealousy, who endeavours to smite him with his Javelin. This whole History is to be found between the 1<sup>st</sup> § of the xvii<sup>th</sup>. and the 10<sup>th</sup>. of the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter. Within this is the *Anticipation* above mentioned, beginning at the 14<sup>th</sup> § of the xvi<sup>th</sup> Chapter, and ending at 23<sup>d</sup> §. Which anticipated History, in Order of Time, comes in between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> § of the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter, where, indeed, the *Breach* is apparent. In the 9<sup>th</sup> verse it is said, *And Saul eyed David from that Day forward*. He had just began, as the Text tells us, to entertain a Jealousy of *David* from the Women's saying in their Songs, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands*. " — *From that Day forward Saul eyed David*", i. e. watched over his Conduct. Yet, in the very next Verse, it says, *And it came to pass on the MORROW, that the evil Spirit from God came upon Saul — And David played with his Hand — And Saul cast the Javelin*. This could never be on the *Morrow* of that Day on which he first began to entertain a Jealousy; for the Text says, *from that Day forward* he began to watch over his Conduct, to find whether his Jealousy was well grounded. Here then is the *apparent Breach*, between which, in Order of Time, comes in the relation of the *evil Spirit's* falling upon Saul, his sending for *David* from his Father's House, &c. For when *Saul* began first, on account of the Songs of the Women, to grow jealous of *David*, and to watch his Behaviour, *David*, uneasy with his Situation, begged Leave to retire home: which we may believe was easily granted. He is sent for again to Court: *Saul* again grows jealous: but the Cause, we are now told, was DIFFERENT, *And Saul was afraid of David, BECAUSE the Lord was with Israel,*

*Israel*, which gives such Umbrage to Infidelity, more will be said in its Place. As for the *great*

*him*, and was departed from Saul § 12. This evidently shews, that the departing of GOD's Spirit from *Saul* was after the Slaughtering of *Goliath*: consequently, that all between § 14 and 23, of the xvi<sup>th</sup> Chapter is an *Anticipation*, which in Order of Time comes in between § 9 and 10 of the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chapter, where there is a great *Breach*, discoverable by the disjointed Parts of distant Time. Thus the main Difficulty becomes clearly solved. But there is another as little to be mastered on the common Supposition, which this Solution likewise clears up. When *David* is recommended for the Cure of *Saul's* Disorder, he is represented, by the Courtiers, as a *mighty valiant Man, a Man of War and prudent in Matters, and that the Lord was with him.* c. xvi. 18. i. e. a Soldier, well versed in Affairs, and successful in his Undertakings. Accordingly, he is sent for; and preferred to a Place that required Valour, Strength, and Experience; *Saul's Armour-bearer*. Yet when afterwards, according to the common Chronology, he comes to fight *Goliath*, he proves a raw unexperienced Stripling, unused to Arms, and unable to bear them; and, as such, despised by the *Giant*. I will not mispend the Reader's Time, in relating to him the strange, and forced Sense the Critics put upon these two Passages, to make them consistent; but only observe that our Reformation, of the Chronology of these Actions, renders all clear and easy. *David* had vanquished the *Philistin*; was become a Favourite of the People; and, on that Account, the Object of *Saul's* Jealousy. To avoid the ill Effects of which, he prudently retired. During this Recess, *Saul* was seized with his Disorder. His Servants supposed it might be alleviated by Music; *Saul* consents to use this Remedy, and orders that an Artist be sought for. They were acquainted with *David's* Skill on the Harp, and likewise, with *Saul's* Indisposition towards him. It was a delicate Point, and required Address, they therefore recommend him in this artful Manner, — *The Son of Jesse is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and prudent in Matters, and a comely Person.* — As much as to say, you must have one constantly to attend you, both at Court, and in your military Expeditions, to be always at Hand, when your Fit comes upon you: *The Son of Jesse* will become both Stations well. He will strengthen your Camp, and adorn your Court; for he is a tried Soldier, and has a graceful Person. You have nothing to fear from his Ambition, for you saw his *Prudence*, that when his Popularity had incurred your Displeasure, he voluntarily retired. — Accordingly *Saul* is pre-

Sanbe-

*Sanbedrim*, it seems to have been established after the failure of Prophecy. And of the Members

vailed upon: *David* is sent for, and succeeds with his Music. This dissipates all former Umbrage, and, as one that was to be ever in Attendance, he is made his *Armour-bearer*. This Sunshine continued till *David's* great Successes again awakened *Saul's* Jealousy; and then the lifted Javelin was to strike off all Obligations; the usual Way of Court-payment. Thus we see how these Difficulties are cleared up, and what Light is thrown upon the whole History by the single Supposition of an *Anticipation* in the latter Part of the xvi<sup>th</sup> Chapter, an Anticipation too the most natural, proper, and necessary that ever was employed in History. The only Reason I can conceive of its lying so long unobserved is this, in the xvii<sup>th</sup> Chapter §. 15. it is said, *But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his Father's Sheep at Beth-lehem*. Now this being when the *Israelites* were incamped in *Elah* against the *Philistins*, and after the Relation of his going to Court to sooth *Saul's* troubled Spirit with his Music, seems to fix the Date of his standing before *Saul* in Quality of Musician, in the Order of Time in which it is related. But the Words, *David went and returned from Saul*, seem not to be rightly understood; they do not mean, *David left Saul's Court where he had resided*, but that *he left Saul's Camp to which he had been summoned*. The Case was this. Here was a sudden Invasion of the *Philistins*, who had penetrated to *Shochoh*, which belonged to *Judah*. Now on such Occasions there always went out a general Summons, throughout the whole Land, for all able to bear Arms, to meet at an appointed Rendezvous. Where a Selection being made of those most fit for Service, the rest were sent back again to their several Habitations. To such a Rendezvous, all the Tribes at this Time assembled. Amongst the Men of *Beth-lehem*, came *Jesse* and his eight Sons; the three eldest were enrolled into the Troops, and the rest sent home again. But of these, *David* is only particularly named; as the History related particularly to him. These are the Words of the sacred Historian, *Now David was the Son of that Ephraimite of Beth-lehem-Judah, whose Name was Jesse, and he had eight Sons: and the Man went amongst Men for an old Man in the Days of Saul. And the three eldest Sons of Jesse went, and followed Saul to the Battle. — And David was the youngest, and the three eldest followed Saul. But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his Father's Sheep at Beth-lehem*, i. e. he was dismissed by the Captains of the Host, as too young for Service. And in these Sentiments, we find, they continued, when he returned with a Message from his Father to the Camp. — I have only to add,

of



of this Body, the Rabbins tell us, there *was a Tradition that they were bound to be skilled in the Knowledge of all Sciences*<sup>a</sup>.

The Truth of these Observations will be much strengthened if we contrast this Method of Providence, in the Establishment of the *Jewish Theocracy*, with that it was pleased to observe in the Propagation of *Christianity*.

The blessed JESUS proposed to Mankind a *spiritual* Religion; to be embraced by *Particulars*, as such; and solely on its own Evidence. Here was no Occasion that the Propagators of this Religion should be endowed with worldly Authority or Learning; for here was no *Body* of Men to be conducted; nor no civil Policy or Government to be erected or administered. And had the *Great* and *Learned* been chosen, by JESUS, for this Work, they would, naturally, have discredited the Progress of it. For it might have been then objected, that the *Gospel*

that this Way of *Anticipation* is very frequent with this sacred Historian. — In the xviii<sup>th</sup> Chap. § 11. it is said, *And Saul cast the Javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the Wall with it: and David avoided out of his Presence TWICE*. But, one of these Times relates to a second casting of the Javelin a considerable Time after the first, here spoken of, which is recorded in Chap. xix. 10. So again the Historian telling us in the 10<sup>th</sup> Chapter, how Saul, when he was first anointed by Samuel, prophesied amongst the Prophets, says, *And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw, that behold, he prophesied among the Prophets, then the People said one to another, What is this that is come unto the Son of Kish? Is Saul also among the Prophets? — Therefore it became a Proverb, Is Saul also among the Prophets, § 11, 12*. But it is evident, that the Original of the Proverb, was his second Prophecy amongst the Prophets at *Naioth* recorded Chap. xix. both for the Reasons given above, and for these, — Saul was not at this Time known to the People, and the Original of the Proverb is said to arise from this second Prophecy, § 24. Therefore the Account of the Proverb in the x<sup>th</sup> Chapter is given by way of *Anticipation*.

<sup>a</sup> See Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 258.

had

had made its Way by the Aid of human *Power* or *Sophistry*. Therefore, to preserve the Splendour of its Evidence unfullied, the meanest and most illiterate of a barbarous People were made the Instruments of God's last great Dispensation to Mankind. Armed with no other Power but of Miracles; and *that* only for the Credence of their Mission: and with no other Wisdom but of Truth; and *that* only to be proposed freely to the Understandings of Particulars. St. Paul, who had fathomed the mysterious Depths of divine Wisdom in both Dispensations, was so penetrated with the View of this last Method of Providence, that he breaks out into this rapturous and triumphant Exclamation, *Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? Hath not God made foolish the Wisdom of this World*<sup>b</sup>?

But further, divine Wisdom so wonderfully contrived, that the *Inability* and *Ignorance* of the Propagators of Christianity, was as useful to the Advancement of this Religion, as the *Authority* and *Wisdom* of the Leader of the *Jews* was for the Establishment of theirs.

I shall only give one Instance, out of many that will occur to an attentive Considerer of the Evangelic History.

When Jesus had chosen these mean and weak Instruments of his Power, he suffered them to continue in their national Prejudices, concerning his Character, Kingdom, and Extent of Jurisdiction, (which was the only human Means that could keep them attached to his Service) not only during the whole Course of their Attendance on his Ministry, but for some Time after his Resurrection; nay even after the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon them; who was to lead them into all Truth; but by just

<sup>b</sup> 1 COR. i. 20.

and

and equal Steps. See now the Use of this, in the following Circumstance. From the Disposition of the whole of God's grand Dispensation to Mankind, as laid down in Scripture, we learn, that the Offer of the Gospel was *first* fairly to be made to the People of the *Jews*, and then afterwards to the *Gentiles*. Now when, soon after the Ascension of our Lord, the Church, through the Persecution of the Synagogue, was forced to leave *Judea*, and to disperse itself through all the neighbouring Regions, had the Apostles, on their Retirement, been fully instructed in the Design of God to call the Gentiles into the Church, the Resentment for their ill Usage in *Judea*, and the small Prospect of better Success amongst those of the Dispersion, which they of *Jerusalem* had prejudiced against the Gospel, would naturally have disposed them to turn immediately to the Gentiles. By which Means God's Purpose, without a miraculous Influence on their Minds, had been imperfectly executed; as so great a Part of the *Jewish* People would not have had what was their Right, the Gospel *first* preached unto them. But pushed on by this commodious Prejudice, that the Benefits belonged peculiarly to the Race of *Abraham*, they address themselves to this other necessary Part of their Mission; to their Brethren of the Dispersion. Which being attended with the same ill Success, their View of the desperate Condition of the House of *Israel*, would begin to abate that Prejudice in their Favour. And now came the Time to enlighten them in this Matter, without putting too great a Force upon their Minds, which is not God's Way of acting with free Agents. Accordingly his Purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church is clearly revealed to *Peter* at *Joppa*; and a proper Subject is made ready for him to begin

gin this great Work withal. So illustrious is the Wisdom of God in all his Dealings with Mankind !

But though Ignorance in the Propagator of a divine Truth amongst *Particulars*, may serve to these useful Purposes, yet to shew still more fully how pernicious it is wherever a *Society* is concerned, as in the Establishment of the *Jewish Religion*, we have an accidental Instance even in the *Christian*.

For when now so great Numbers of the Gentiles were converted to CHRIST that it became necessary to form them into a *Church* ; that is, a religious Society ; which of course has its *Policy* as well as the *Civil*, so pernicious was Ignorance in its governing Members, that divers of them, even though graced with many Gifts of the holy Spirit, caused such Disorders in their Assemblies as required all the great Abilities of the *learned Apostle* to reform and regulate. And then it was, and for this Purpose, that *Paul*, the peculiar Apostle of the Gentiles<sup>c</sup>, was called in, in so extraordinary a Manner, to conduct, by his *Learning* and *Abilities*, and with the Assistance of his Companion *Luke*, this Part of God's Purpose to its Completion. The rest were properly Apostles of the *Jews*, which People having a religious Society already formed, there was a kind of Rule to go by, that served them for the present Occasion : And therefore they needed no great Talents of Parts or Learning ; nor had they any. But a new Society was to be formed amongst the gentile Converts ; and this required an able Conductor ; and such an one they had in *Paul*. But will any one say that his *Learning* affords an Objection against the Divinity of his Mission ? We conclude therefore that none can arise from the Abi-

<sup>c</sup> *The Gospel of the Circumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the Circumcision was unto Peter. GAL. ii. 7.*

lities natural and acquired of the great *Jewish* Law-giver. The Point to be proved.

II. We come now to the second Part of the Proposition, — *That the Laws instituted in compliance to the People's Prejudices, and in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions are no reasonable Objection to the Divinity of Moses's Religion.* — That most of these Laws were given in *Opposition* to *Egyptian Superstitions*, *Believers* seem not unwilling to allow: as apprehending no Consequence they need be afraid to own. The Thing, which startles them, is, the Supposition that *others* were given in *Compliance* to the *Jewish* Prejudices: because *Infidels* have so much insisted on this Circumstance, as a Discredit to the Truth of *Moses's* Pretensions. Yet, for all that, I shall shew that the Laws in *Compliance* were a necessary Consequence of the Laws in *Opposition*; and, to reconcile *Believers* to both Sorts, prove, against the *Deist*, that the Institution of such Laws are no reasonable Objection to their Divinity, from the double Consideration of their NECESSITY and FITNESS.

I. If God did indeed interfere in the Concerns of this People, it will, I suppose, be easily owned, that his Purpose was to separate them from the Contagion of that universal Idolatry, which had now overspread the whole Earth. And to which, especially to the *Egyptian*, they were most inveterately prone.

There were two Methods, in the Hand of God, for effecting this Separation: either by overruling the *Will*; and this required only the Exercise of his *Power*: or by leaving *that* at Liberty, and counter-working the *Passions*; and this required the Exercise of his *Wisdom*.

Now, as the very *End* of this Separation shews, that God acted with the *Israelites* as moral Agents,

we must needs conclude, notwithstanding the peculiar Favour by which they were elected, and the *extraordinary* Providence by which they were conducted, yet that, amidst all this continued Display and Blaze of Power, the *Will* ever remained untouched and free. This not only appears from the Nature of the Thing, but from the whole History of their Reduction out of *Egypt*. To give only a single Instance: *Moses* tells us, that God led the *Israelites* into the Land of *Canaan*, not by the direct Way of the *Philistins*, lest the Sight of Danger, in an Expedition against a strong and warlike People, should make them chuse to return to *Egypt*, and seek for Refuge in their Slavery: but he led them about, by the Way of the Wilderness, to inure them gradually to Fatigue and Hardships; the best Foundation of military Prowess<sup>d</sup>. And when God, to punish them for their Cowardice, and Want of Faith in his Promises, on the Report of the Explorers of the holy Land, decreed that That Generation should we worn away in the Wilderness<sup>e</sup>, the wise Policy of this Sentence was as conspicuous as the Severity.

If then the *Wills* of this People were to be left free, and their Minds influenced only by working on their Passions, it is evident that God, becoming their Lawgiver, will act by the same Policy in Use amongst human Lawgivers for restraining the vicious Inclinations of a People. The same, I say, in *Kind*, though differing infinitely in *Degree*. For all People, whether *divinely* or *humanly* conducted, having the same Nature, the same Liberty of Will, and the same earthly Habitation, must needs require the same Mode of Governance. And thus, in Effect, we find, that the *Jewish* was like all other civil In-

<sup>d</sup> EXOD. xiii. 17.<sup>e</sup> NUMB. xiii, and xiv.

stitu-

stitutions, with regard to the integral Parts of a Political Society.

According then to our Ideas of Things, we see no Way left to keep such a People, thus separated, free from the Contagion of Idolatry, but, *first*

1. By severe penal Laws against Idolaters, and

2. As it is the Way of wise Lawgivers, in Order to keep the *Will* from revolting, not to do every Thing by direct Force, and Fear of Punishment, but to employ, where they can, the gentler Methods of Restraint<sup>f</sup>; *Secondly*, by framing a multifarious Ritual, whose whole Mode of Worship being directly opposite to the forbidden Superstitions would, by Degrees, wear out the present Fondness for them; and at Length bring on an habitual Aversion to them.

3. But, in this gentler Method of Restraint, when the *Passions* and Prejudices run high, a direct and profess'd Opposition will be apt to irritate and inflame them. Therefore it will be necessary, still further, in Order to break and elude their Violence, *thirdly*, to turn their Fondness for the forbidden Practice, into an innocent Channel; and by indulging them in such of those favourite Customs, which they could not well abuse to Superstition, enable the more severe and opposite Institutions to do their Work effectually. Such, for Instance, might be the *lighting up of Lamps* in religious Worship. Which Practice *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us came first from the *Egyptians*<sup>g</sup>: nor will *Witsius* himself venture to deny it<sup>h</sup>. But for the same Reason, we conclude the *brazen Serpent* to be no Imitation of an *Egyptian* Practice, as Sir *J. Marsham*

<sup>f</sup> See Vol. i. p. 128.    <sup>g</sup> Ἀγγύπιοι λύχνους καίτοι πρῶτοι κατέδειξαν. *Strom.* l. i. p. 306.

<sup>h</sup> Earum [Lucernarum] prima ad religionem accensio, utrum Hebraeis debeatur, an Ægyptiis, haud facile dixero. *Ægypt.* p. 190.

would persuade us: because we see how easily it might, and did suffer Abuse. Which Conclusion, both our Principle leads us to make, and Matter of Fact enables us to prove<sup>1</sup>.

Such a Conduct therefore, where the *Will* is left free, appears *necessary*.

II. Let us see next whether it were *fit*, that is, whether it agreed with the *Wisdom*, *Dignity*, and *Purity* of God.

1. His *Wisdom* indeed is the Attribute peculiarly displayed in this Method of Government: And certainly with as great Lustre as his *Power* would have been in the forcing their *Wills*. To give an Instance only in one particular most liable to the Ridicule of Unbelievers: I mean in that Part of the *Jewish* Ritual concerning *clean* and *unclean Meats*; which descends to so minute and low a Detail, that Men, ignorant of the Nature and End of this Institution, have adjudged it altogether unworthy the Concern of God, and so have concluded against the divine Original of the Law. But would they reflect on what, upon Reflection, they must agree to, that the Purpose of God to separate one People from the Contagion of universal Idolatry, and to deal with them as *moral Agents*, were Designs not unworthy the Governor of the Universe, they would soon see this Part of the *Jewish* Ritual in a very different Light; and be forced to confess the Marks of divine Wisdom in that Institution, which took away the very Foundation of all Commerce with other People. For those who can neither *eat* nor *drink* together, are never likely to contract an Intimacy. This will open to us the admirable Method of divine Wisdom in *Peter's Vision*. This Apostle, being to be instructed in God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church, had a visionary Representation, while

<sup>1</sup> See p. 155.

he



he was an hungred, of all kind of Meats, *clean* and *unclean*; which he was bid to take and eat of indifferently and without Distinction<sup>k</sup>. The primary Design of this Vision, as appears by the Context, was to inform him that the *Partition-wall* was now broken down, and that the Gentiles were to be received into the Church of CHRIST. But besides its *figurative* Meaning, it had likewise a *literal*: and signified, that Distinction of *Meats*, as well as *Men*, was now to be abolished. And how necessary such Information was when he was about to go on his Mission to the Gentiles, and was to conciliate their Benevolence and good Will, I have observed above.

2. As to the *Dignity* and Majesty of God, that, surely, does not suffer in his not interfering, with his Almighty Power, to force the *Will*, but permitting it to be drawn and inclined by natural Motives. The *Dignity* of any Being consists in a Conformity between his *Actions* and his *Quality*, or Station. Now it pleased the God of Heaven to take upon himself the Office of supreme Magistrate of the *Jewish Republic*. But it is the Part of a wise Magistrate to restrain a People most devoted to a peculiar Superstition, by a Ritual directly *opposite*, in the general, to that Superstition; and yet *similar* in such particular Practices as could not be abused or perverted. Because complying with the popular Prejudices in Things *indifferent*, naturally eludes the Force of their Propensity to Things *evil*. In this wise Policy therefore the *Dignity* of the God of Heaven was not infringed.

3. Nor is the *Purity* of God more affected by this supposed Conduct. The Rites, in Question, are owned to be, in themselves, *indifferent*: and good

<sup>k</sup> ACTS x. 10, & seq.

or *bad* only as they are directed to a true or false Object.

If it be said that their carnal Nature, or wearisome Multiplicity, or scrupulous Observance, render them unworthy of his *Purity* and spiritual Nature; — to *Believers*, I reply, that this Objection holds equally against these *Rites* in whatever View they themselves regard them. To *Unbelievers*, that they forget, or do not understand the principal *End*, in the Institution of the *Jewish* Ritual: which was, *to keep the People from Idolatry*. But nothing could be so effectual, to this Purpose, as such a Ritual.

If it be said, that the Abuse of these indulged Rites to an abominable Superstition, had made them altogether unfit to be employed in the Service of the God of Purity, — I reply, that there is nothing in the Nature of Things to make them *unfit*. That a *material* Substance, *materially* soiled, stained and infected, is *unfit* to approach and join one of great Cleanness and Purity is evident. But let us not mistake Words for Things, and draw a *metaphysical* Conclusion from a *metaphorical* Expression. The Soil and Stain, in this Case, is altogether figurative, that is, nothing real. And in Truth, the only Ground of the Objection is the Declaration of this very *Jewish* Law, to abstain from Things polluted by Idolatry. But we now understand that the *Reason* of its so severely forbidding the Use of some Things that had been abused to Superstition, was *the very same* with the indulging the Use of others that had been *equally* abused: namely, to compass, by the best, though by Variety of Means, that One great End, *the Extirpation of Idolatry*. Yet this, like many other *Jewish* Institutes, has, occasionally, been adopted by *Christian* Sects. Thus our PURITANS, who had their Name from the Objection under

under Debate, quarrelled with the established Use of the *Cross in Baptism*, the *Surplice*, and the *Posture of communicating*, because they had been abused by Popish Superstition. I chuse this Instance that they I am arguing against may see the Effects of their *Objection*; and they, from whom the Instance is taken, the Unreasonableness of their *Separation*.

If, lastly, it be said, that these *Rites*, which had been, might be again abused to Superstition, and therefore unfit to be employed in this new Service, — I reply, that this is a Mistake. For 1. The *Supposition* is, that the *Jews* were indulged in no Practices capable of being so abused. 2. But were they in themselves easily subject to Abuse, they carried their corrective with them, which was, *first*, their being intermixed with a vast Number of other Rites directly opposite to all idolatrous Practice. And *secondly* their making Part of a burthensome multifarious Worship, which would keep the People so perpetually employed as to afford them, neither Time nor Occasion of falling into foreign Idolatries.

But how can I hope to be heard in Defence of this Conduct of the God of *Israel*, when even the believing Part of those I argue against seem to have paid so little Attention to the divine Reasoning of *JESUS* himself? Who has admirably illustrated and vindicated the Wisdom of it, in the familiar Parables of *new Cloth in old Garments*, and *new Wine in old Bottles*<sup>1</sup>. Which, though given in Answer

<sup>1</sup> And he spake also a Parable unto them; No Man putteth a Piece of a new Garment upon an Old: if otherwise, then both the new maketh a Rent, and the Piece that was taken out of the new, agreeth not with the old. And no Man putteth new Wine into old Bottles, else the new Wine will burst the Bottles, and be spilled, and the Bottles shall perish. But new Wine must be put into new Bottles, and both are preserved. No Man also having drunk old Wine, straightway desireth new: for he saith the old is better. LUKE v. 36, & seq. On which, a learned and pious Commentator in-

to a particular Question, were intended to instruct us in this general Truth, that it is the Way of GOD to accommodate his Institutions to the State, Condition, and contracted Habits, of his Creatures.

But as this Notion hath been condemned *ex Cathedra*; and the *Ægyptiaca* of Herman Witsius recommended, to the Clergy, as *a distinct and solid Confutation* of Spencer's Book, *de Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*, I shall examine what Witsius has to say against it. And the rather, because as a pious Archbishop, and one, of the two, most learned Universities in the World have lately thought fit, by a joint Beneficence, to give the Public a new, and more complete Edition of Spencer's noble Work, I make it a matter of Duty to defend the Honour of it. What Witsius has of Argument is to be found in the *fourteenth Chapter* of his *third Book*, which I will endeavour to pick out and make the most of.

1. His *first* Argument is, — That it is dishonouring GOD who has the Hearts of Men in his Hands, and can turn them as he pleases, to conceive of him as standing in need of the Tricks of crafty Politicians; not but that GOD deals with Men as reasonable Creatures, and attains his End by fit and adequate Means: and in the Choice of these Means, manifests a Wisdom perfectly admirable. Yet, for all this, we cannot, without the highest contumely, pretend to compare the sacred Policy of

truduceth his Paraphrase in this Manner, — “Nor do I now think fit to lay such rigorous Commands upon them, because Prudence will require me at present to accommodate their Trials to their Strength — And you cannot surely blame me for this, when you consider how difficult it is to alter the Ways of living to which People have been accustomed, even in less Things than these now in Question”. *The Family Expositor*, Vol. i. p. 436--438.

Heaven

Heaven with the Arts and Shifts of the beggarly Politicians of this World<sup>m</sup>. — All that I find here are hard Words. *Spencer* never compared the Wisdom of God, in the Institution of the *Jewish* Republic, to the Tricks and Shifts of Politicians: but only to their legitimate Arts of Government, conducted on the Rules of strict Morality. And if, as this Writer owns, God *dealt with the Israelites as reasonable Creatures, and attained his End by fit and adequate Means*, he must needs use a Wisdom the same in *Kind*, though vastly different in *Degree*, with what we call *human Policy*. But indeed he seems to be reconciled to the *Thing*: It is the *Name* only that he dislikes. If his Followers say, *No*, I desire they would explain to us, in some intelligible Manner, their Idea of that *Wisdom*, in the Government of a People, which is neither founded in the Exercise of almighty Power, nor yet the same in *Kind* with what we call *Policy*.

2. His *second* Argument is, — That, as God erected a *new Republic*, it was his Will that it should *appear new* to the *Israelites*. And its Structure was not patched up out of the Rubbish of *Canaanitish* or *Egyptian* Rites, but formed according to the Model brought down from Heaven; and shewn to *Moses*

<sup>m</sup> Verum enimvero quantamcunque hæc civilis prudentiæ speciem habeant, præter Dei verbum cuncta dicuntur, & humani commenta sunt Ingenii, Divini Numinis Majestate haut satis digna. Nimirum cauti catique in seculo mortales Deum ex sua metiuntur indole: arcanasque imperandi artes, & vasa Politicorum, quæ vix terra probet, cælo locant. Quasi vero in populo sibi formando firmandoque iis astutiarum ambagibus indigeat is, qui, mortalium corda in manu sua habens, ea, quorsum vult, flectit. Non nego equidem Deum cum hominibus, uti cum creaturis rationalibus, agentem, media adhibere iis persuadendis idonea, inque eorum mediis delectu sapientiam ostendere prorsus admirabilem. At tamen Dei sanctissima ista sapientia cum politicorum astutibus ac vafritie comparari sine insigni illius contumelia non potest. p. 282.

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in the Mount. Neither was it left to the People to do the least Thing, in religious Matters, on their own Head. All was determinately ordered, even to the most minute Circumstances; which were so bound upon them, that they could not do, or omit, the least Thing contrary to the Law, without becoming liable to immediate Punishment". — If, by this *Newness* of the *Jewish Republic*, be meant that it was different in many fundamental Parts from all other civil Policies, so as to vindicate it to its divine Author, I not only agree, but labour to prove it. But this Sense makes nothing to the Point in Question. If by *Newness* be meant, that it had nothing in common with any of the neighbouring Institutions; To make this credible, he should have proved that God gave them *new Hearts, new Natures*, and a new World along with their *new Government*. There is the same Ambiguity in what he says of the *Appearance of Newness to the Israelites*. For it may signify either that the Institution appeared so new as to be seen to come from God; or that it appeared so new as not to resemble, in any of its Parts, the Institutions of Men. The first is true, but not to the Purpose: the latter to the Purpose, but not true. From the *Fact* of the Laws coming down entire from Heaven, he concludes that the Genius and Prejudices of the *Israelites were not* at all consulted: From the same Fact, I conclude,

" Uti revera novam moliebatur Rempubicam, ita & novam, qualis erat, videri eam Israëlitis voluit. Quippe cujus forma sive species, non ex rituum ruderibus Cananiticorum aut Ægyptiacorum efficta, sed cœlitus delapsa, Mosi primum in sacro monstrata monte erat, ut ad illud instar cuncta in Israël componerentur. Neque permiffum esse populo voluit, ut in religionis negotio vel tantillum suo ageret arbitratu. Omnia determinavit ipse, ad minutiffimas usque circumstantias; quibus ita eos alligavit, ut non sine præsentaneo vitæ discrimine quicquam vel omittere vel aliter agere potuerint. p. 282, 283.

that

that they *were*. Ignorant Men, indeed, may and have, composed Laws in all Things opposite to the Bent and Genius of a People. And they have been obeyed accordingly. But, when divine Wisdom frames an Institution, we may be sure that no Solécism like that of *putting new Wine into old Bottles* will ever be committed. *But the People were not consulted in the most minute Circumstances of Religion.* How is this to be reconciled with their free Choice of God for their King; and with his Indulgence of their impious Clamours afterwards for *another King*? These were surely high Matters of Religion, in a Policy where the two Societies were perfectly incorporated. *But every Thing was determined even to the most minute Circumstance, and to be observed under the severest Penalties.* What this makes for *his Point* I cannot see. But this I can see, that if indeed there were that Indulgence in the Law which I argue for, these two Circumstances must needs attend it: and for this plain Reason, in *Indulgences*, Men are very apt to transgress their Bounds. It is therefore necessary those Bounds should be *minutely* marked out, and the Transgression of them *severely* punished.

3. His *third* Argument is, — That no religious Rites, formerly used by the *Israelites*, on their own Head, were, after the giving the Law, PERMITTED, out of regard to Habitude; but all Things *prescribed* and *commanded*: and this so precisely, that it was unlawful to deviate a Finger's Breadth either to the right Hand or to the left°. — I apprehend this to be only a Quibble on the equivocal Use of

° Nec ulli in Religione ritus fuerunt, ab Israëlitis olim sine numine usurpati, quibus propter assuetudinem ut in posterum quoque uterentur lege lata *permisit*: sed præscripta *jussaque* sunt omnia. Et quidem ita distincte, ut nec transversum digitum dextrorsum aut sinistrorsum declinare fas fuerit, DEUT. v. p. 283.

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the Word *Permission*, which signifies either a *tacit Connivance*, or *legal Allowance*. Now *Spencer* used the Word in this latter Sense. But *Permission*, in this Sense, is very consistent with *every Things being expressly prescribed and commanded in the Law*.

4. His *fourth* Argument goes on thus, — But further, God neither *permitted*, nor *commanded*, that the *Israelites* should worship him after the *Pagan Mode of Worship*. For it had been the same Thing to God not to be worshipped at all, as to be worshipped by Rites used in the Service of Demons. And *Moses* teaches us that the Laws of God were very different Things from what *Spencer* imagined, as appears from DEUT. xii. 30, 31, 32. and from LEV. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Here the Reason given of forbidding the Vanities of *Egypt*, is, that *Jehovah*, who brought them out from amongst that People, will, from henceforth, allow no further Communication with *Egypt*. Small Appearance of any *Indulgence*. And hence indeed it is, that *most* of the *Ritual Laws* are directly leveled against the *Egyptian*, *Zabian*, and *Canaanitish* Superstitions, as *Maimonides* confesses *P*. — As to what he says, that we may

P Porro nec permisit, nec iussit Deus, ut eo se modo Israelitæ colerent, quo modo Deos suos colebant Gentiles; veritus scilicet ne per veteres istas vanitates Dæmoni cultum deferrent, si minus Deo licuisset. Nam & inanis ille metus erat: quum Deo prope modum perinde sit, siue quis Dæmoni cultum deferat, siue per vanitates aliquas veteres Deo cultum deferre præsumat. Et longe aliter Deum instituisse Moses docet, DEUT. xiii. 30, 31, 32. adde LEVIT. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Audin', *Spencere*, qua ratione ab Ægyptiacis vanitatibus ad suorum observantiam præceptorum Israelitas Deus avocet? Eo id facit nomine, quod ipse Jehova & Deus ipsorum sit, qui ex Ægypto eos eripiens nihil posthac cum Ægyptiorum vanitatibus commune habere voluit. Hoc profecto non est, id quod tu dicis, allicere eos per umbratiles veterum Ægypti rituum reliquias. Atque hinc factum est ut plurima Deus legibus suis ritualibus inseruerit, Ægyptiorum, Zabiorum, Cananæorum institutis ἐκ παλαιότητος opposita. — Cujus rei varia a nobis exempla alibi allata sunt. p. 283, 284.



as well not worship God at all, as worship him by Rites that had been employed in *Paganism*, we have already destroyed the very Foundation of this strange Assertion. As for *most* of the *Ritual* Laws being leveled against idolatrous Superstition, — we are so far from seeing any Inconsistency between *this*, and that *some* of *those* Laws indulged the People in habituated Practices, which could not be abused to Superstition; that we see a mutual and necessary Connexion between them. For if severe Laws were given to a People, against favourite Superstitions, to which they were violently bent, it would be necessary to indulge their favourite Passions as far forth as safely they could be indulged; in order to break their Violence, and give the Body of *opposed* Laws fuller Liberty to work their Effect. And if they had Laws likewise given them in Indulgence, it would be necessary to accompany such Laws with the most severe and precise Prohibitions of idolatrous Practices, and the least Deviation from a tittle of the *Law*. In a Word, Laws in direct *Opposition*, and Laws in *Conformity* or *Compliance*, had, as we say, equally one and the same Tendency, and jointly concurred to promote the same End; namely, preserving the *Israelites* from Idolatry<sup>9</sup>.

5. His *fifth* Argument runs thus, — Indulgence was so far from being the End of the Law, that it was given as a most heavy Yoke, to subdue and conquer the Ferocity of that stiffnecked People,

<sup>9</sup> Therefore I cannot agree with Mr. *Whiston* in the specific Value he sets upon a Passage of *Manetho* — *This is a very valuable Testimony of Manetho's that the Laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not in Compliance with, but in Opposition to the Customs of the Egyptians. Translat. of Josephus, p. 993.* However though this fairy Treasure vanishes, it is some Comfort to Religion that she wants it not.

GAL. iv. 1, 2, 3. COL. ii. 21<sup>1</sup>. — One would imagine, that those he wrote against contended for such a kind of Indulgence as arose out of God's *Fondness* for his *chosen* People. When indeed they suppose it to be only such an one as tended the *sooner* and more *effectually* to subdue and *conquer the Fero-*  
*cidity* of their savage Tempers :

*Quos optimus*

*Fallere & effugere est Triumphus.*

If therefore that was the *End* of the Law, which *Witfius* makes to be so, we may be assured that this *Indulgence* was one of the *Means*. But the *general Means* being Laws in *direct Opposition*, this justified the Character the Apostle here gives of the *Jewish Ritual*.

6. His *sixth* Argument is, — That the Intent of the *Law* was to separate the *Israelites*, by a *Partition-wall*, as it were, from all other People. 1. That its *Diversity* might remove them far from all *Communion* with *Idolaters*. 2. That it might create an *Aversion* to *Idolatry*<sup>2</sup>. — As to the first Effects of the *Diversity* of the *Jewish Law*, namely keeping that People distinct : If the learned Writer would insinuate by this (which is indeed the *Point* to his Purpose) that this Distinction could be kept up only while the *Jews* and other Nations had no *similar* Rites, it could never, even by the *Means* he himself prescribes, be long kept up. For if the *Jews*

<sup>1</sup> Id sibi primum in rituum iussione propositum habuit Deus, ut laboriosis istis exercitiis ferociam populi indomitam, veluti difficilimo iugo, subigeret, GAL. iv. 1, 2, 3. COL. ii. 21, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Deinde hæc quoque Dei in rituum iussione intentio fuit, ut eorum observantia veluti pariete intergerino eos a Gentium communi-  
one longe semoveret, EPH. ii. 14, 15. — Quum autem legem præceptorum in ritibus inimicitias Apostolus vocat, hoc inter cætera innuit, fuisse eam symbolum atque instrumentum divisionis atque odii inter Israëllem & Gentes, p. 287, 288.

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were not indulged in the Imitation of any *Pagan* Rites, the *Pagans* might indulge themselves in the Imitation of *Jewish*: as indeed they did, in the Practice of *Circumcision*: and so this *Partition-wall* of Separation, if built only of our Author's Materials, must soon tumble. But the very Case given shews no Necessity for *all* the Laws to be in Opposition, in order to secure a Separation: The *Jews* being as effectually separated<sup>t</sup> from all their Neigh-

<sup>t</sup> And the Reason was this, — *Circumcision* was not given to *Abraham* and his Race as a distinguishing *Mark of Separation* from all other People, but as a standing *Memorial*, (fit to be so by its continued Use) of the *Covenant* between *God* and *Abraham*. — *And ye shall circumcise* (says *God*) *the Flesh of your Fore-skin, and it shall be a TOKEN OF THE COVENANT between me and you*, GEN. xvii. 10. Thus, by not being given as a *Mark of Separation*, it effectually answered that End. For it preserved the Memory of a *Covenant*, which necessarily kept them separate and distinct from the rest of Mankind. — Here *God's Covenant* was with one particular People. And so a common *Rite*, enjoined that People, was, with great Wisdom, made the *Sign* or *Token* of it. But where his *Covenant* was with the whole Race of Mankind, as in the Promise, not to destroy the Earth any more with a Flood, he, with equal Marks of Wisdom, made a common and beautiful Phenomenon, seen over the whole Earth, the *Token* of that *Covenant*. And *God* said, *this is the TOKEN of the Covenant. I do set my Bow in the Cloud, and it shall be for a Token of a Covenant between me and the Earth*, GEN. ix. 12, 13. Yet it is wonderful to consider how this Matter has been mistaken. Dr. Burnet of the *Charterhouse*, who had a visionary Theory to maintain, which made it necessary he should suppose the Phenomenon of the *Rain-bow* not to be before the Flood, endeavours to countenance his Fancies from this Passage in *Genesis*, by such a kind of Reasoning as this, That had there been a *Rain-bow* before the Flood, it could not have been properly used as a *Token* of *God's Covenant*, that he would no more drown the Earth, because, being a common Appearance, it could give no extraordinary Assurance of Security. And to this Reasoning the Author of *Christianity as old as the Creation* alludes, — *And perhaps* (says he) *the not knowing the natural Cause of the Rain-bow occasioned that Account we have in Genesis of its Institution*, pag. 228, 229. Its *Institution*! The Expression is excellent. *God's appointing the Rain-bow to be a Token or Memorial for perpetual* bours

bours when most of those Neighbours used the Rite of *Circumcision*, as when they enjoyed it without a Rival. — As to the other Effect of this Diversity of the *Jewish Law*, namely creating an Aversion to

*Generations* of his *Covenant* with Mankind, is called, *His Institution of the Rain-bow*. But ill Expression is the Homage to Non-sense, for *Freethinking*; and as *duely paid as the Great Turk's Tribute*. However the *Word* shews, he took it for granted that *Moses* represents God as then first *setting his Bow in the Clouds*. And it is the *Reasoning* which we are at present concerned with. And this we say, is founded in the grossest Ignorance of the Nature of *Compacts* and *Promises*. Now, in these, the Security for Performance is only the Knowledge of the good Faith of the Promiser. But, in the Case before us, the most novel, or most supernatural Appearance could add nothing to the Evidence of God's Veracity. As on the Contrary, had the Children of *Noah* been ignorant of this Attribute of the Deity, such an extraordinary Phenomenon could have given no Assurance of Performance. For what then served the Rain-bow? For the excellent Purpose so well expressed by the sacred Writer, for THE TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. That is, for a Memorial or Remembrance of it, throughout all Generations. A Method of the most universal Use in the Pacts and Contracts of all civilized Nations. Indeed had this Remain of the human Race been made acquainted with God's Covenant or Promise by a third Person, and in a common Way, there had been then Occasion to accompany it with some extraordinary or supernatural Appearance. But for what? Not to give Credit to God's Veracity: but to the Veracity of his Messenger who brought the News. Now God revealed this Promise *immediately* to the Children of *Noah*. But here is the Source of the Mistake: Our Deists have put themselves in the Place of those Patriarchs; and the Promise being revealed to them only by a third Hand, and in a common Way, namely Scripture, they refuse to believe it because not accompanied with a Miracle. They forget the Condition of the Patriarchs when this Promise was made them; filled with Terror and Astonishment at the past, and with the most frightful Apprehensions of a future Deluge. Had not this been their Condition, this particular Covenant had not been made with them: and had their Posterity all along continued in the same Condition, we may certainly conclude, from the Uniformity of God's Dealings, that he would, from Time to Time, have renewed this Covenant, in the Manner it was first given; or have secured the Truth of the Tradition by a supernatural Appearance. But these Fears soon  
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the Rites of all other Nations. In this, the learned Writer betrayed egregious Ignorance of human Na-

wore out: and Posterity, in a little Time, became no more concerned in this particular Promise, than in all the other Instances of divine Goodness to Mankind. But *Moses*, as this great Philosopher thinks, knew nothing of the natural Cause of the Rain-bow. He really thought it to be altogether a modern Discovery. He may be excused. A much more considerable Man has thought so too. Dr. Pemberton, in his excellent *View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* says, *The first Person who expressly shewed the Rain-bow to be formed by the Reflexion of the Sun-beams from Drops of falling Rain, was ANTONIO DE DOMINIS. But this was afterwards more fully and distinctly explained by DES CARTES, p. 394.* But this is a great Mistake. The ancient Philosophers understood it as fully and distinctly as *António de Dominis*, as appears by these express Words of *Plutarch*, delivering their *Placits*. — *The third Mode of Vision is by Reflexion, as Things are seen in a Mirrour. And the Appearance of the RAIN-BOW is a Vision of this Kind. For it is to be noted, that an humid Vapour, or Exhalation, converted into a Cloud, forms itself, by little and little, into small Drops of Rain. So that when the Sun is got into the West, the Rain-bow must of Course appear in the opposite Quarter of the Heavens. And when the Species or Vision falls upon these Drops, it is reflected, so as to form a Rain-bow. But these Drops present not the Image of the Figure, but of the Colour. The first is scarlet, the second purple and violet, and the third blue and green. The scarlet appears when the Rays of Light shine brightly on the Drop. And that pure Splendor, reflected, makes the red and scarlet Colour. The second Part, reflecting the Rays more faintly and obscurely, makes a Purple which is a remiss Scar-let. And, becoming more troubled and indistinct, it changes the Colour, green. This may be proved by an easy Experiment. Let any one take Water and spurt it against the Sun, so that the Drops may reflect its Rays, and he will have a Rain-bow in little.* Τεῖν-τερόν-τ' ἔβλεπεν τὰ ἀνακλώματα, ὡς τὰ καλοπικακά. ἔστιν ἂν τὸ τ' ἰεῖον-τ' παρὸν τοῦτον. δὲ γὰρ ἐπινοήσαν-τ' ὑγρὴν ἀναθυμίασιν εἰς νεφ-μελεβαλλύσαν, εἶτα ἐν τ' κ' βραχὺ εἰς μικρὰς ῥαίνδας ποιεῖσθαι. ὅταν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος γένῃ εἰς δυσμὰς, ἀνάγκη πάντων ἰεῖον ἀντικρὺς ἕλκε φαιεῖσθαι, ὅτε ἡ ὄψις προπαυεῖσθαι \* ταῖς ῥαίνισιν ἀνα-

\* Ἡ ὄψις προπαυεῖσθαι ταῖς ῥαίνισιν ἀνακλᾷται. This evidently shews that the Colours were considered as made by the Rays. And the Expression is so particular, that *Sir Isaac Newton*, who knew how they were made, would have used the same on the like Occasion. As to *Plutarch's* Explanation of the Manner, in which the Sun-beams made the various Colours, 'tis as good as any before *Sir Isaac's*, who found out the true Secret,

ture. For we always find a more inveterate Hatred and Averſion, between People of different Religions where ſeveral Things are alike, than where every Thing is directly oppoſite ; of which a plain Reaſon might

κλᾶται, ὥς γινώσκ. τ. ἱερ. εἰς τὴν αἰ. ξανίδες ἢ χήμαλ. μορφῇ, ἀλλὰ χρώμαλ. καὶ ἔχει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φοινικῶν τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, ἀλυσγές καὶ πορφυρῶν τὸ δὲ τρίτον, κυανέον καὶ πρῶσιον. μήποτε ἐν τῷ μὲν φοινίκῳ, ὅτι ἡ λαμπρότης τῆς ἡλίας προωπεσθῆσα. καὶ ἡ ἀκραιφνὴς λαμπρότης ἀνακλωμένη, ἐρυθρῶν ποιεῖ καὶ φοινικῶν τὸ χρῶμα. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μέρος ἐπιβολῶν καὶ ἐκλυδῶν μᾶλλον τῆς λαμπρότης. Ἀλλὰ τὰς ξανίδας, ἀλυσγές ἀνεῖς γὰρ τῆς ἐρυθρῆς τῆτο. ἐν τῇ πάλιν ἐπιβολῶν τὸ διορίζον εἰς τὸ πρῶσιον μεταβάλλει. ἔστιν ἐν τῇτο δοκιμάσαι δι' ἔργων. εἰ γάρ τις ἀντικρὺ τῆς ἡλίας ἐκλίνων λάβῃ ὕδωρ καὶ πυτίσῃ, αἱ δὲ ξανίδες ἀνάκλινον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον λάβωσιν, ἐνεθήσει γνωμὴν ἱερ. Περὶ τῶν Αἰ. τοῖς Γιλ. 1. iii. c. 5. In this Mistake Mr. de Voltaire in his *Elemens de la Philosophie de Newton* follows Dr. Pemberton. *L'Arc-en-ciel, ou l'Iris, est une suite necessaire des proprietés de la lumiere que nous venons d'observer. Nous n'avons rien dans les Ecrits des Grecs, ni des Romains, ni des Arabes, qui puisse faire penser qu'ils connussent les raisons de ce Phenomene: — Enfin le celebre Antonio de Dominis — Il fut le premier qui fit voir que les rayons du Soleil reflechis de l'interieur même des gouttes de pluye formoient cette peinture qui paroît en Arc* — p. 142--144. And before, in his *Letters concerning the English*, he said—Till Antonio de Dominis the Rain-bow was considered as an inexplicable Miracle, p. 143. But we are not to wonder at this in a Writer who was so ignorant in Antiquity, as to affirm, that ancient Greece did not know that the secondary Qualities of Light and Colours are nothing resembling the Sensations they excite in the Mind. *Les Grecs—ont dit de Siecle en Siecle—les Corps lumineux & colorez ont des qualités semblables à celles qu'ils excitent en nous par la grande raison que rien ne donne ce qu'il n'a pas*, p. 14, 15. And that the Observation might be as absurd as it is false, he makes the Doctrine of the Greeks, and the Doctrine of the Peripatetics to be equivalent Terms. But the Reason of doing so, was this, he was sure the Peripatetics held that luminous and coloured Bodies had Qualities resembling those which they excite in us: and not being so sure the Greeks in general held the same, though he ventured to affirm it of them, he would leave Room to escape under a Change of the Terms, if he should prove to be mistaken. Yet this would not serve his Turn: For there is a deal of Difference between the Peripatetics not knowing the present received Doctrine of secondary Qualities, which is the Thing he would insinuate of the Greeks in general, and their not holding it. In a Word,

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be found in the Nature and Passions of Men. So that the retaining some innocent *Egyptian* Practices, all accompanied with their provisional Differences, would naturally make the *Jews* much more averse to *Egypt*, than if they had differed in every individual Circumstance.

7. His *last* Argument runs thus, — The Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Ritual were Types and Shadows of heavenly Things. It is therefore highly improbable that God should chuse the impious and diabolic Sacra of *Egypt*, and the Mummery of magic Practices, for the Shadows of such holy and spiritual Matters<sup>u</sup>. — Thus he ends as he begun, with hard Words and ill Language. No Body ever said that any of these kind of Practices were suffered or imitated in the *Jewish* Ritual. All the Indulgence pleaded for, is some innocent Ceremony, such as the *lighting up of Lamps*. And let me ask these Men,

the *Atomic* or *Corpuscularian* Physiology, which taught this Doctrine, was much elder in *Greece* than the *Peripatetic*, and well known to the Founder of this latter Sect. Who (to observe it by the Way) brought an Objection against *sensible Qualities being the Result of the Figures and Dispositions of the insensible Parts or Atoms* which the Atomists could never answer till Sir *Isaac Newton's* Discovery of the true Theory of Light and Colours furnished us with a Solution. The *Peripatetic* Objection was this, that, admitting the *Corpuscularian* Doctrine of sensible Qualities; the Variety of the Figures and Dispositions of the insensible Parts being *infinite*, it would follow that the Species of Colours should be *infinite* likewise. Now Sir *Isaac's* Theory, which makes Colours the innate Property of the Rays of Light, and that a determined Set of different kinds of Rays originally and immutably assert a Colour each peculiar to itself, entirely takes off the Weight of this Argument.

<sup>u</sup> Denique & hic Cærimoniarum scopus fuit, ut rerum spiritualium figuræ atque umbræ essent, & extaret in iis artificiosa pictura Christi, ac gratiæ per ipsum impetrandæ — Non est autem probabile, Deum ex impiis Ægyptiorum ac Diabolicis sacris, ex veteribus vanitatibus, ex Magicæ artis imitamentis, picturas fecisse rerum spiritualium atque cœlestium. p. 289.

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whether *this*, though done, as we suppose, in Conformity to an *Egyptian* Practice, was more unfit to be made a Type or Shadow of Heavenly Things, than the Erection of *an Altar without Steps*; done, as they will allow, in direct Opposition to such Practice. But I shall shew, under the next Head, that the *Supposition* of the *Jewish* Ritual's being framed, partly in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to idolatrous Superstitions, and, at the same Time, Typical of a future Dispensation, tends greatly to raise and inlarge our Ideas of the divine Wisdom.

And thus the Reader sees with how little Reason these Arguments of *Witsius* have been vaunted for their Power of Confutation. But what then? Was the Author unworthy this Distinction of being recommended to so truly Christian, and learned a Clergy<sup>w</sup>? By no Means. He deserves the highest Regard; and that for a better Thing than learned Argumentation; for a very amiable Candour of Mind ever averse from imputing odious Designs to his Adversaries, or dangerous Consequences to their Opinions<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> The Clergy of *Middlesex*.

<sup>x</sup> Thus he speaks of *Marsham* and *Spencer*. In omnium nunc fere eruditorum manibus versatur Nobilissimi Viri *Johannis Marshami Canon Chronicus*. Opus quantivis pretii; quod uti Authori suo multa lectione, accurata meditatione, plurimisque lubricationibus stetit, ita Lectori per salebrosos obscurissimæ Antiquitatis recessus viam non paullo faciliorem expeditioremque effecit. Sed ut in humanis rebus nihil omni ex parte beatum esse solet, ita nec pulcherrimo huic corpori suos deesse nævos videas — Eandem sententiam magno nuper animo atque apparatu tuitus est *Johannes Spencerus* in Dissertatione de *Urim & Thummim*. Ubi ita vir doctissimus instituit, &c. — Multa a viris doctissimis congesta sunt quibus huic suæ assertioni fidem faciant. Ea autem quum plurimum reconditæ contineant eruditionis, non videntur Clarissimi Authores sua laude, uti nec studiosi Lectores jucunditate, atque utilitate quæ exinde percipi potest, fraudandi esse. — Super omnibus denique *inimorum* meam subjungam, eo

Thus



Thus the *Believer*, as well as *Deist*, sees, that the Ritual's being made in Reference to *Egyptian* Superstition is no reasonable Objection to the Divinity of its Original. But the latter may object, "That though indeed, when the *Israelites* were

argumentorum robore quod suscepti negotii ratio patitur firmandam. Nequaquam ea mente ut doctissimorum virorum laboribus detraham; sed ut me & Lectores meos in investiganda veritate exerceam, si forte detur curva corrigere & *Egregio inspersos abstergere Corpore Nævos*, p. 1—4. — This Candour was the more extraordinary as Sir J. *Marshall* had given but too many Marks of Disaffection to revealed Religion. And though that great and good Man Dr. *Spencer* was certainly a sincere Believer; yet, it must be owned, through his Intention to the Argument, he often expressed himself very crudely. He had a bright and vigorous Imagination, which sometimes got the better of his Judgment; and the Integrity of his Heart made him careless in giving it the Reins in a very dangerous Way. Thus, for Instance, in his fine Discourse concerning *Prodigies*, speaking of a certain Quality in the Soul, which, as he says, makes it greatly impressive to the Persuasion of *Parallels, Equalities, Similitudes, in the Frame and Government of the World*, he goes on in this strange Manner, "This general Temper of the Soul easily inclines it to believe great and mighty Changes in States, usher'd with the Solemnity of some mighty and analogous Changes in Nature, and that all terrible Evils are prefac'd or attended with some prodigious and amazing Alterations in the Creation — Hence perhaps it is that we generally find great Troubles and Judgments on Earth described especially by Persons *ecstatical, Prophets and Poets* (whose Speeches usually rather follow the easy Sense of the Soul than the rigid Truth of Things) by all the Examples of Horror and Confusion in the Frame of the Creation. The Prophet *David* describes God's going out to Judgment thus", &c. p. 71, 72. 2<sup>d</sup> Ed. The serious Christian Reader cannot but be much offended at this injurious Representation of the holy Prophets. The Remark is indeed altogether unworthy of this learned Man. 'Tis false in *Fact*, that these were *Enthusiastic* Images represented to the *Fancy*. I have shewn they were the sober Phraseology of those Times, and common figurative Expressions, well understood by the People. But is it therefore fitting that such a Writer should be treated, by every worthless Scribler, as a Libertine, a Deist, and a secret Propagator of Infidelity; for what, such as the candid *Witius* would only call *Nævi in pulcherrimo Corpore*?

“ once deeply infected with that Superstition, such  
 “ a Ritual might be necessary to stop and cure a  
 “ growing Evil; Yet as it was so multifarious,  
 “ burthenfome, and slavish, and therefore not in  
 “ itself eligible, how happened it that God, who  
 “ had this Family under his immediate and peculiar  
 “ Care, should suffer them to contract such an In-  
 “ fection as required so inconvenient and impure a  
 “ Remedy? ”

I have been so long used to find that the strongest infidel Objections have at last come to no other End, than to give greater Lustre to the Truth of Revelation, that I have never been backward, either in producing what they have said where they write their best, or in imagining what they would say if they knew how to write better. To this therefore I reply, That the Promise God had made to *Abraham*, to give his Posterity the Land of *Canaan*, could not be executed till that Family was grown numerous enough to take and keep Possession of it. In the Interim, therefore, they were necessarily to reside amongst *Idolaters*; and to reside *unmixed*. But we have seen how strong and violent a Propensity the *Israelites* ever had to join themselves to gentile Nations and to practise their Manners. God, therefore, in his infinite Wisdom, brought and kept them, during this Period, within *Egypt*; the only Country, throughout the whole habitable Earth, where they could have remained, for so long a Space of Time, safe and unmixed; the ancient *Egyptians* being by numerous Institutions restrained and forbid all Fellowship or Communication with all Strangers whatsoever, and bearing besides a particular Aversion to the Profession of this Family. Thus we see, that that natural Disposition of the *Israelites*, which, in *Egypt*, occasioned their Superstitions, and, in Consequence, a Necessity of the Ritual

Ritual complained of; in any other Country would have quite absorbed and confounded them with the Gentile Nations. From this Objection, therefore, only arises new Occasion to adore the Footsteps of divine Wisdom in his Dispensations to this People.

### III.

The last Proposition is, *That these very Circumstances of Moses's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws instituted in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions, are a strong Confirmation of the Divinity of his Mission.*

*Egypt* was the great School of Legislation for the rest of Mankind. And so revered were her oracular Precepts, that *foreign* Lawgivers, who went thither for Instruction, never ventured to deviate from any of her fundamental Maxims of Government. In *Religion*, particularly, which always made a Part of *civil Policy*, they so closely adhered to the *Egyptian* Principles, that Posterity, as we have seen, were deceived into an Opinion that the *Greek* Lawgivers had received their very Gods from thence.

What therefore must we think had been the Case of a Native of *Egypt*; bred up, from his Infancy, in *Egyptian* Wisdom, and, at length, become a Member of their legislative Body? Would such a one, when going to frame a civil Policy and Religion, (though we suppose nothing of that natural Affection, which the best and wisest Men have ever had for their own Country Institutions,) be the least inclined to deviate from any of its principal Maxims of Government?

Yet here we have in *Moses*, according to our Adversaries Account of him, a mere human Lawgiver, coming fresh out of the Schools of *Egypt*, and reducing a turbulent People into Society, on funda-

mental Maxims of Religion and Policy directly opposite to all the Principles of *Egyptian Wisdom*.

One of the Chief of which, as to *religious* Matters, was, that the Government of the World was committed, by the supreme Rector of the Universe, into the Hands of subordinate, local, tutelary Deities, amongst whom the several Regions of the Earth were shared and divided: That these were the true and proper Objects of all public and popular Religion; and that the Knowledge of the only one God, the Creator of all Things, was highly dangerous to be communicated to the People: but was to be secreted, and shut up in their *Mysteries*; and there revealed occasionally to a few; and those only of the wise, and learned, and ruling Part of Mankind. Now, in plain Defiance and Contempt of this most venerable Principle, our *Egyptian* Lawgiver rejects all these Doctrines of inferior Deities, as Impostures, Lies, and Nonsense; and boldly and openly preaches up to the People the Belief of the only one God the Creator, as the sole Object of the religious Worship of the whole Race of Mankind.

Here let me observe how this Circumstance, in *Moses's* Conduct, acquits him of all Suspicion of that kind of FRAUD so much in Use amongst the best human Lawgivers of Antiquity. — The *Mosaic Dispensation* had been treated by our Freethinkers with great Liberties. It was therefore proposed, as a Means to rescue it from their Contempt, and to solve its Difficulties without hurting its Authority, to suppose some Degree of Fiction, in certain Cases, in the *Mosaic* Writings. And this was endeavoured to be shewn probable from the Practice of the ancient Lawgivers. Now I think this neither true nor credible. 1. If we consider what it was that made the ancient Lawgivers employ Fraud, we shall find it arose, in Part, from their false Pretences to a divine Mission; and, in Part, from the imaginary Necessity of propagating Polytheism. As to the first, *Moses's* Pretences to a divine Mission are allowed. And it is most notorious that he preached up the Doctrine of the only one God the Creator, in Opposition to all kinds of Polytheism. No Occasion then remains for the Use of Fraud. And we can hardly think he would employ it

Another

Another fundamental Maxim, in the religious Policy of *Egypt*, was to propagate, by every kind of Method, the *Doctrines of a future State of Rewards and Punishments*; as the necessary Support of all Re-

wantonly, and to no Purpose. What we have then to shew is, that the only Cause of the ancient Sages employing Fraud (besides the Support of a false Mission) was to hide the Absurdities of Polytheism. This indeed hath been already done on several Occasions. I shall here, therefore, confine myself to a single Proof. *Macrobius* assures us, that the ancient Sages did not admit the Fabulous in all their Disputations; but in those only which related to the Soul, to the HEAVENLY BODIES, and to the HERO-GODS. Sciendum est tamen non in omnem Disputationem Philosophos *fabulosa* vel *licita*, sed his uti solent cum vel de animâ, vel de AERIIS, ÆTHERIISVE POTESTATIBUS, vel de CETERIS DIS loquuntur. [in Som. Scip. l. i. c. 2.] On the contrary, when they discoursed of the FIRST CAUSE, then every Thing was delivered exactly agreeable to Truth. Ceterum cum ad SUMMUM ET PRINCIPEM OMNIUM DEUM — tractatus se audet attollere — nihil *fabulosum* penitus attingunt. [*id. ib.*] The Cause of using Fraud or Fable, in treating of their false Gods, was to hide the Absurdities attendant on their Worship; a Worship thought necessary. Hence, as hath been shewn elsewhere; [Vol. i. of the Div. Leg. p. 323.] they were led from the *Absurdity* and *Necessity* together, to conclude *that Utility, and not Truth was the End of Religion*: and from another Mistake there mentioned, *that Utility and Truth do not coincide*: From these two Principles necessarily arose a third, *that it was Expedient and Lawful to deceive for the public Good*. And, on this last, was founded the Practice above mentioned. Now the whole Religion of *Moses* being established on that very Doctrine, in the handling of which the ancient Sages neither *needed* nor *used* Fraud; and at the same Time directly opposing that very Superstition, for the Sake of which the Fraud, they used, was employed; We conclude, with Certainty, that *Moses* employed no FRAUD in the Composition or Propagation of the *Jewish* Religion. But 2. That which he had *no Occasion* to use, we think it *impossible* he should use, if his Pretensions were (as is allowed) real. We have, indeed, in Order to display the Wisdom of God's Dispensation, endeavoured to shew that he exercised, in the Contrivance of it, all those Arts, (though in an infinitely higher Degree,) which human Legislators are used to employ in the *legitimate* Exercise of civil Government: for that, without forcing the Will, no other Method was sufficient to accomplish the End designed. But this  
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ligion and Government. Here again, our Lawgiver, (no Deist can tell why) forsakes all his own Principles; intentionally rejects a Support, as *really* beneficial to Mankind, in all his Interests, as the other Notion, of inferior Deities, was *fancifully* so; intirely omits to mention it in his Institutes of Law and Religion; and is studiously silent in all those Principles that lead to the Propagation of it. But of this, more at large when we come to our main *Argument* for the Divinity of the *Mosaic* Law from this very *Omission*.

Again, it was the civil Policy of *Egypt* to prefer an hereditary despotic *Monarchy* to all other Forms of Government. *Moses*, on the contrary, erects a *Theocracy* on the free Choice of the People; to be administered *aristocratically*.

Add to all this, that his Deviation from *Egyptian* Policy was encountering the strongest Prejudices of his People; who were violently carried away to all the Customs and Superstitions of *Egypt*.

And now let an *ingenuous* Deist weigh these Instances, and many more that might have been given, and will easily occur to him, and then fairly tell us his Sentiments. Let him try if he can say it was at all likely, that *Moses*, a *mere human* Lawgiver, a Native of *Egypt*, and learned in all its political Wisdom, should, in the Formation of a civil Po-

is as different from *Fraud* as Truth from Falsehood. Thus far, we think, GOD, in his Dispensations to Men, would chuse to do rather than force the Will. But could we suppose a People, favoured with a divine Revelation, so absurdly circumstanced as to be incapable of being worked upon by common Means, without the the Use of *some Degree of Fraud*, we should then conclude GOD would rather chuse miraculously to over-rule the Will: Because we think *divine Truth* and a *Mixture of human Fraud* to be Things utterly incompatible; that there can be no Alliance between GOD and *Belial*; nor any Union between the Spirit of Purity and the Father of Falsehood.

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licy, for *such* a kind of People, act directly contrary to all its fundamental Principles ?

I. To this perhaps it will be objected, — That *Moses* understood all the Folly and Falsehood of inferior Gods : — that he did not believe the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, and was too honest to use Fraud : — that his Love to his People made him indisposed to an hereditary despotic Monarchy : — and, that the theologic Principles of *Egypt* led him to the Invention of a Theocracy. — I answer

1. As to *his seeing the Falsehood of inferior Gods*, so did many other of the old Lawgivers, instructed in *Egyptian* Policy ; yet, being taught to think it useful to Society, they did not, for that, the less cultivate their abominable Polytheism.

2. As to *his not believing a future State, and his Honesty in not teaching what he did not believe* ; such Objectors forget that they have already made him a fraudulent Impostor, in his Pretension to a divine Employment. Now if the Ends of civil Government made him fraudulent in that Instance, it surely would in this ; even allowing the Extravagance of their Imagination, that he *did not believe* a future State ; because, as hath been proved at large<sup>z</sup>, the Propagation of this Doctrine is the firmest Support of civil Government.

3. With regard to *his Concern for the Happiness of his People* ; I will readily allow this to be very consistent with heroic or legislative Fraud. But this the ancient Lawgivers thought best procured by the *Egyptian* Mode of Government. And indeed they had *Experience*, no bad Reason for their Opinion. For the excellent Education the *Egyptians* gave their Kings, in training them up to the Love

<sup>z</sup> See the first Volume.

of the Public, and high Veneration for the Laws, prevented the usual Abuse of Power; and gave to that People the longest and most uninterrupted Course of Prosperity that any Nation ever enjoyed\*. It is no Wonder therefore, that this should make *Monarchy*, as it did, the first favourite Form of Government, in all Places civilized by the Aid of *Egypt*.

4. But the *Theologic Principles* of *Egypt* led *Moses* to the *Invention of a Theocracy*. Without doubt those Principles, as we shall see hereafter, made a *Theocracy* of very easy Introduction amongst the *Israelites*. But there is one Circumstance in the Case that shews it must have been God, and not *Moses*, that introduced it. For the Foundation of its easy Reception was the Notion of *local tutelary Deities*. But this Notion, *Moses*, in preaching up the Doctrine of the one only God, entirely took away. This, indeed, on a Supposition of the *Divine Legation*, has all the Marks of admirable Wisdom; but supposing it to be *Moses's* own Contrivance, we see nothing but Inconsistency and Absurdity. He forms a Design, and then defeats it; he gives with one Hand, and he takes away with the other.

II. But it may be further objected, — That, as it was the Intention of *Moses* to separate these People from all others, he, *therefore*, gave them those cross and opposite Institutions, as a Barrier to all Communication. — To this I answer

I. That were it indeed God, and not *Moses*, who projected this *Separation*, the Reason would be

\* This was the Character it bore even so late as the Time of *Jeremiah*, who tells us, that the rebellious *Israelites*, frightened at the Power of the King of *Babylon*, refused to stay any longer in *Judea*, saying, No, but we will go into the Land of *Egypt*, where we shall see no War, nor hear the Sound of the Trumpet, nor have Hunger of Bread, and there will we dwell. chap. lxi. 14.

good.



good. Because the End of God's Separation was twofold, to *keep them unmixed*; and, likewise, *secure from Idolatry*: and such Ends could not be effected but by opposing those *Egyptian Fundamentals*, with the Doctrine of *one God*, and the Institution of a *Theocracy*. But then this, that would be a good *Reason*, will become a very bad *Objection*. Our Deist is to be held to the Question. He regards *Moses* as a mere human Lawgiver. But the sole End which such a one can propose by a Separation, is to preserve his People pure and unmixed. Now this could be only effected by Laws that kept them at home, and discouraged and prevented all foreign Commerce: Which, at the same Time, unavoidably bringing on a general Poverty, there would be little Danger under such a Contagion, of their being much frequented. This we know was the Case of *Sparta*. It was their Lawgiver's principal Aim to keep them distinct and unmixed. But did he do this by Institutions crossing the fundamental Principles of the Religion and Policy of *Greece*? By no Means. They were all the same. The Method he employed was to frame such Laws as are spoken of above. And these proved sufficient to effect his End. I the rather instance in the *Spartan*, than any other Constitution, because the common View (tho' for different Ends) both of *Moses* and *Lycurgus*, of keeping their People separate, occasioned such a Likeness in several Parts of the two Institutions, as was, I am persuaded, the true Original of the Tradition of their near Relation and Kindred, mentioned in the *first Book of Maccabees*.

2. But, secondly, as it is very true, that an Intention to keep a People separate and unmixed, (which a mere human Lawgiver might have,) would occasion Laws in Opposition to the Customs of those  
People

People with whom, from their Vicinity to, or Fondness for, they were in most Danger of being confounded; so, when I insisted on those *Anti-Egyptian* Institutions, which I gave as a certain Proof of *Moses's Divine Legation*, I did not reckon in my Account any of that vast Number of Ritual and Municipal Laws, which *Manetho* confesses, were *given principally in Opposition to Egyptian Customs*<sup>b</sup>. This, a mere Separation did require. But *this* is a very different Thing from the Opposition to *Fundamentals*, here insisted on; which a mere Separation did not, at all, require.

III. But it may be yet objected, — That Resentment for ill Usage might dispose *Moses* to obliterate the Memory of the Place they came from, by a Policy contrary to the fundamental Institutions of *Egypt*.

1. Here again our objecting Deist will forget himself. He hath urged a Conformity, in the Law, to *Egyptian Rites*: and this, in Order to discredit *Moses's Divine Legation*: and we have allowed him his Fact. Whatever it was therefore that engaged *Moses* to his *general Opposition*, it could not be *Resentment*: For that had certainly prevented *all kind of Conformity* or Similitude.

2. But, secondly, such Effects of popular Resentment, the natural Manners of Men will never suffer us to suppose. We have, in ancient History, many Accounts of the Settlement of new Colonies, injuriously driven from Home by their Fellow Citizens. But we never find this spited them against

<sup>b</sup> ὁ ὃ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο, μήτε προσκυθεῖν θεῷ, μήτε ἢ μάλιστα εἰς Αἰγύπτῳ θιμισσομένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα τε δύνει καὶ ἀναλῆναι συνάπτεσθαι ὃ μηδεὶ πλὴν ἢ συναιμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα ὃ νομοθέτης καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα, μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἱθιμοῖς ἐναντιώμενα. Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i. p. 460, 461. Haverch. Ed.

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their Country Laws, and Institutions. On the Contrary, their close Adherence to them, notwithstanding all personal Wrongs, has in every Age enabled learned Men to find out their Original, by strong characteristic Marks of Conformity to the mother City. And the Reason is evident: *Innate Love of one's Country*, which is strongest at a Distance; and *inveterate Manners*, which stick closest in Distress; (the Condition of all new Colonies) are Qualities infinitely too strong to give Way to Resentment against particular Men.

It is not indeed unlikely but that some certain specific Law or Custom, that did, or was thought to, contribute to their Disgrace and Expulsion, might, out of this Resentment, be reprobated by the new Colony. But this is the utmost that the History of Mankind will suffer us to suppose.

On the whole, therefore, I conclude that *Moses's Egyptian Learning is a strong Confirmation of the Divinity of his Mission.*

II. The *second Part* of the Proposition is no less evident, *that the Laws instituted in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and in Opposition to Egyptian Superstitions, are a strong Confirmation of the Divinity of Moses's Mission.* For had this Mission been only *pretended*, his Conduct, as a wise Lawgiver, had been greatly different. His Business was then only to support a false Pretence to Inspiration. Let us see how he managed. He pretended to receive the whole Frame of a National Constitution from GOD: and to have had the Pattern of all its Parts brought him from Heaven to the Mount. But when this came to be promulged, it was seen that the Ritual Law was politically instituted partly in Compliance to the People's Prejudices, and partly in Opposition to *Egyptian Superstitions*. This, as we see from the Objection of the Ignorant in these  
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Times, might have been an Objection in those. And as an Impostor could not but have foreseen the Objection, his Fears of a Discovery would have made him decline so hazardous a System, and cautiously avoid every Thing that looked like an human Imitation. It is true, that, on Enquiry, this unfolds a Scene of admirable and superior Wisdom : but it is such as an Impostor could never have projected : or at least would never have ventured to leave to the Mercy of a popular Judgment. We conclude, therefore, that these Things are a certain Proof that *Moses* actually received them from God. Nor is this any Contradiction to what we have so much insisted on above, that a mere human Lawgiver, or even an inspired one acting with free Agents, is necessitated to comply with the Passions of the People; which Compliance would induce such a *Relation* to *Egypt* in the Ritual Law. For we must remember too what hath been likewise shewn, that the Ends of a *Divine* and *Human* Lawgiver, both using the common Means of a *Separation*, are vastly different; the latter only aiming to keep the People *unmixed*; the former, *pure from Idolatry*. Now, in both Cases, where the People are dealt with as free Agents, some Compliance to their Prejudices will be necessary. But a human Lawgiver, as such Compliance in the Ritual would be subject to the Danger here spoken of; and as Compliance in the Fundamentals, such as the Object of Worship, a future State, and Mode of civil Government, would *not* be so subject, and, at the same Time, would win most forcibly on a prejudiced People to the promoting the Legislator's End; we must needs conclude *these* would be the Points complied with. On the other Hand, as a Divine Lawgiver could not comply in these Points; and as such a Ritual as the *Mosaic* was the only Means left of gaining his End, we  
much

must conclude that a Divine Lawgiver would make his Compliances in *that* Part.

Let me only add one Corollary to our *Believing Adversaries*, as a further Support of this Part of the Proposition. — Allowing the Ritual Law to be generally instituted in Reference to *Egyptian* and other neighbouring Superstitions, the divine Wisdom of the Contrivance will be seen in redoubled Lustre. — One Reason, as we have seen above, of the Opposition to this Notion, is that the *Ritual Law was Typical*, not only of Things relating to *that Dispensation*, but to the *Evangelical*. This then they take for granted, and with good Reason, as will be shewn hereafter. Now an Institution of a Body of Rites, particularly and minutely leveled against, and referring to, the idolatrous Practices of those Ages; and, at the same Time, as minutely *Typical*, not only of all the remarkable Transactions under that Dispensation, but likewise of all the great and constituent Parts of a future one, to arise in a distant Age, and of a Genius directly opposite, must needs give an attentive Considerer the most amazing Idea of divine Wisdom.

The great *Maimonides*, who first <sup>c</sup> explained the

<sup>c</sup> In his *More Nevochim*, Par. III. This famous Book, as hath been the Luck of all that bring new Proofs for Revelation in a new Way, hath undergone many heavy Censures both from *Jews* and *Christians*. *Those* blame him for attempting to assign Reasons for the ceremonial Precepts; *These* for explaining Scripture on the Principles of *Aristotle*. But both, as usual, only shew us the Effects of Ignorance and Prevention. In this Work, the excellent Author studied, at the same Time, the real Honour of GOD, and the Good of those to whom his Discourse was addressed. And because its End and Design appears to be little understood, and depends on a curious Piece of History, never yet explained by his Editors and Translators, I shall give the Reader a short Account of it. — About the Beginning of the *Saracen* Empire, as we learn from *William of Paris* in his Book *de Legibus*, a great Number of the *Jews*, devoting themselves to the Study of the *Aristotelian*

Causæ of the *Jewish* Ritual in any reasonable Way, was so struck with the opening Splendor of Divinity, which this Light reflected back upon the Law, that

Philosophy, then all in Vogue, and contracting thereby an inquisitive and disputatious Habit, set themselves to examine into the *Reasons* of the *Jewish* *Laws*; which not being able to penetrate, they too hastily concluded them to be useless, absurd, and of human Invention; and so apostatized, in great Numbers, from the Religion of their Fathers. — “Postquam autem Chaldæis sive “Babyloniis & genti Arabum commixti sunt, & miscuerunt se “studiis eorum & Philosophiæ; & secuti sunt opiniones Philo- “phorum; nescientes legis suæ credulitates & Abrahæ fidem con- “tra disputationes eorum & rationes defendere: hinc est quod “facti sunt in lege erronei, & in fide ipsius Abrahæ hæretici; “maxime postquam regnum SARACENORUM diffusum est “super habitationem eorum. Exinde enim æternitatem mundi “& alios Aristotelis errores secuti sunt multi eorum. Hincque “pauci veri Judæi (hoc est, qui non in parte aliquâ credulitatis “suæ Saraceni sunt, aut Aristotelicis consentientes erroribus) in “terrâ Saracenorum inveniuntur de his qui inter Philosophos “commorantur. Dedit etiam occasionem non levem apostasiæ “hujusmodi ea quæ videtur multorum mandatorum absurditas “vel inutilitas, dum enim apparet in eis absurditas & inutilitas, “nulla autem præceptionis aut inhibitionis earum ratio, nulla ob- “servantiarum utilitas, non est mirum si ab eis receditur: sed “tanquam onera supervacanea projiciuntur.” *fol. 18.* In these Times, and under this Empire, our Author wrote. And could any Thing be more useful than to shew his apostatizing Brethren that the Scriptures might be defended, nay, even explained on the Principles of *Aristotle*, and that the Precepts of the ceremonial Law were founded in the highest Reasonableness and Convenience? Our Author in his Preface, where he gives his Reasons for writing plainly, hints at this Apostasy — *Vertiginosos verò quod attinet, quorum cerebrum est pollutum & vanis futilibusque ac falsis opinionibus repletum, quique sibi imaginantur se magnos esse Philosophos, ac Theologos, illos scio fugituros a multis, contra multa etiam objectiones moturos.* — *Deus vero benedictus novit, quantopere time- rim conscribere ea, quæ explicare & consignare volui in hoc libro. Nam quia talia sunt de quibus nullus ex gente nostra in hac captivitate quicquam scripsit hætenus, quâ ratione primus ego prodire in hac palestra audeo? Verum suffultus sum duobus principiis; primo, quod de istius modi negotio dictum sit, tempus est faciendi Domino; irritam fecerunt legem tuam, &c. secundo, eo quod sapientes nostri dicunt, Omnia opera tua fiant ad gloriam Dei.*

in

in the Entry on his Subject he breaks out into this triumphant Boast, EA TIBI EXPLICABO UT PLANE NON AMPLIUS DUBITARE QUEAS ET DIFFERENTIAM HABEAS QUA DISCERNERE POSSIS INTER ORDINATIONES LEGUM CONDITARUM AB HOMINIBUS ET INTER ORDINATIONES LEGIS DIVINÆ.

Thus the Reader sees what we gain by fairly following the Force of Evidence. Such a Manifestation of the Divinity of the Law, arising out of the Deist's own Principles, as is enough to cover Infidelity with Confusion!

And what is that we lose? Nothing sure very great or excellent. The imaginary Honour of being original in certain Rites, indifferent in themselves; and only good or bad as is the *Authority* that enjoins them, and the *Object* to which they are directed.

Indeed, the Deist pretends that, in the Things *borrowed from* Egypt, the first Principles of Law and Morality, and the very commonest Customs of civil Life, are to be included. The extravagance of this Fancy has been exposed elsewhere<sup>d</sup>. But as it is a Species of Folly, all Parties are apt to give into, it may not be amiss to consider this Matter of *religious borrowing* a little more fully.

There is nothing obstructs our Discoveries in Antiquity, (as far as relates to the Knowledge of Mankind) so much as that false, though undisputed Principle, that the general Customs of Men, (in which a common Likeness connects, as in a Chain, the Manners of its Inhabitants, quite round the whole Globe) are all; whether civil or religious, traductive from one another. Whereas, in Truth, the Original of this general Similitude, is the Voice of one common Nature, improved by Reason, or

<sup>d</sup> Pag. 24.

debased by Superstition, speaking to all its Tribes of Individuals. But it is no Wonder Men have been misled by this false Principle. For when a Custom, whose Meaning lies not very obvious, requires some Account to be given of its Original, it is much easier, to tell us, that *this* People derived it from *that*, than rightly to explain to us, what common Principle of Reason or *Superstition*, gave Birth to it, in both.

How many able Writers have employed their Time and Learning to prove *Christian Rome* to have borrowed their Superstitions from the *Pagan City*? They have indeed shewn an exact and surprising Likeness in a great Variety of Instances. But the Conclusion from thence, that, therefore, the *Catholic* borrowed from the *Heathen*, as plausible as it seems, is, I think, utterly mistaken. To offer at present only this plain Reason, The Rise of the superstitious Customs in Question were many Ages later than the Conversion of that Imperial City to the *Christian Faith*: consequently, at the Time of their first Introduction, there were no *Pagan* Prejudices that required such a Compliance from the ruling Clergy. For this, and other Reasons, therefore, I am rather induced to believe, that the very same Spirit of Superstition, operating in equal Circumstances, made both *Papists* and *Pagans* truly Originals. But does this take off from the just *Opprobrium* which the *Reformed* have cast upon that Church, for the Practice of such Rites, and Encouragement of such Opinions? Surely it does not; but rather greatly increase it. In the former Case, the Heads of that Church had been guilty of a base Compliance with the Infirmities of their new Converts: In the latter, the Poison of *Superstition* is seen to have infected the very Vitals of their *Religion*.

But



But then, Truth will fare almost as ill when a *right*, as when a *wrong* Principle, is pushed to an Extravagance. Thus, as it would be ridiculous to deny, that the *Roman* Laws of the *twelve Tables* were derived from the *Greeks*; because we have a circumstantial History of their Traduction: so it would be equally foolish not to own, that a great Part of the *Jewish* Ritual was composed in Reference to the Superstitions of *Egypt*; because their long Sojournment in that Country had made the *Israelites* extravagantly fond of *Egyptian* Customs: But to think (as some Deists seem to have done) that they borrowed from thence their common Principles of Morality, and the legal Provisions for the Support of such Principles, is, whether we consider the *Israelites* under a divine or human Direction, a Thing equally absurd; and such an Absurdity as betrays the grossest Ignorance of human Nature, and the History of Mankind.

And thus much concerning the ANTIQUITY of *Egypt*, and its EFFECTS on the *Divine Legation* of Moses.



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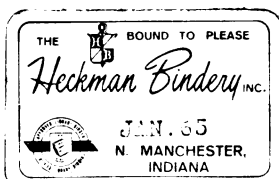
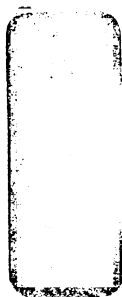
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